# Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns

UTRECHT STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LITERACY

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# USES OF THE WRITTEN WORD IN MEDIEVAL TOWNS

## MEDIEVAL URBAN LITERACY II

edited by

Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska

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# Preface

This volume and its companion volume, *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*,[1] form the main result of the research project 'Medieval Urban Literacy', sponsored by The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO)[2] and the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB). The Institut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte (ISTG) of the Universität Münster, the Institute for Medieval Studies (IMG) of the University of Leeds, the Worldwide Universities Network (WUN), the Institute of History and Archival Sciences of Toruń University, the Institute of Byzantine Studies, Queen's University Belfast, and the Fachbereichsbibliothek Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik of the Universität Wien have also been involved in the project.

Together with Georges Declercq and Walter Ysebaert, both from the VUB, the editors, Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska, both from the Universiteit Utrecht, organised a workshop in Brussels on 2-3 June 2008, under the title *New Approaches to Medieval Urban Literacy*.[3] On 9-12 July 2007, 7-10 July 2008 and 13-16 July 2009 sessions and round tables were organised during the International Medieval Congress (University of Leeds). Paul Trio, from the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, campus Kortrijk, and Ana Belen Sánchez-Prieto, from the Facultad de Ciencias de la Documentacion, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, helped with drawing up the programme. In all, more than fifty papers were presented at Leeds. Apart from the Introductions, the two volumes appearing in *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* contain 33 contri-

[1] *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy 1*, ed. M. MOSTERT and A. ADAMSKA (Turnhout, 2014: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 27).

[2] Dossiernummer 236-50-002.

[3] Published as *New Approaches to Medieval Urban Literacy*, ed. G. DECLERCQ *et al.* (Brussels, 2013: *Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten: Contactforum*), with eleven contributions.

butions, a few of which have been added afterwards, as has been, at the end of this volume, a short suggestion for further research under the title "Whither the study of medieval urban literacy?"

The editors feel that, despite the many publications devoted to aspects of medieval urban literacy, together *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns* and *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns* manage to provide new insights into this multifaceted phenomenon. If they are not mistaken, this will come about not in the least by the comparative approach that has been adopted, which allows the reader to compare known forms of urban literacy with examples from areas and centuries he or she may not have been familiar with prior to picking up these volumes. Hopefully this will lead to new hypotheses and new research, which will lead to a better understanding of the European-wide phenomenon of medieval urban literacy.

During the editorial process, assistance with the checking of the English of the contributions was provided by Connie Hopkins. The maps were made by Maria Juran of the Institute for the Historical Geography of the Church in Poland (Catholic University of Lublin). The editors are grateful to all institutions and individuals who have made these volumes possible, and more in particular to those who consented to develop their papers for publication or to write wholly new papers for inclusion in these volumes.

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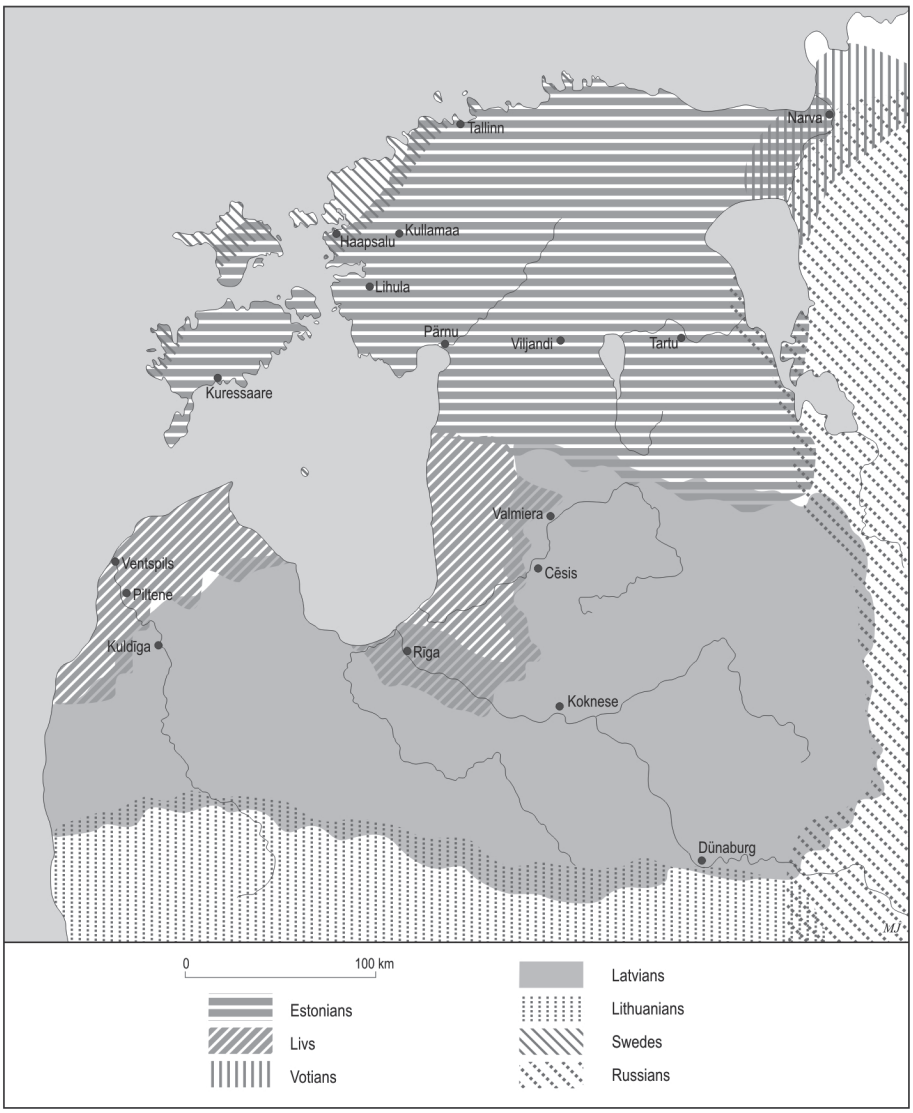
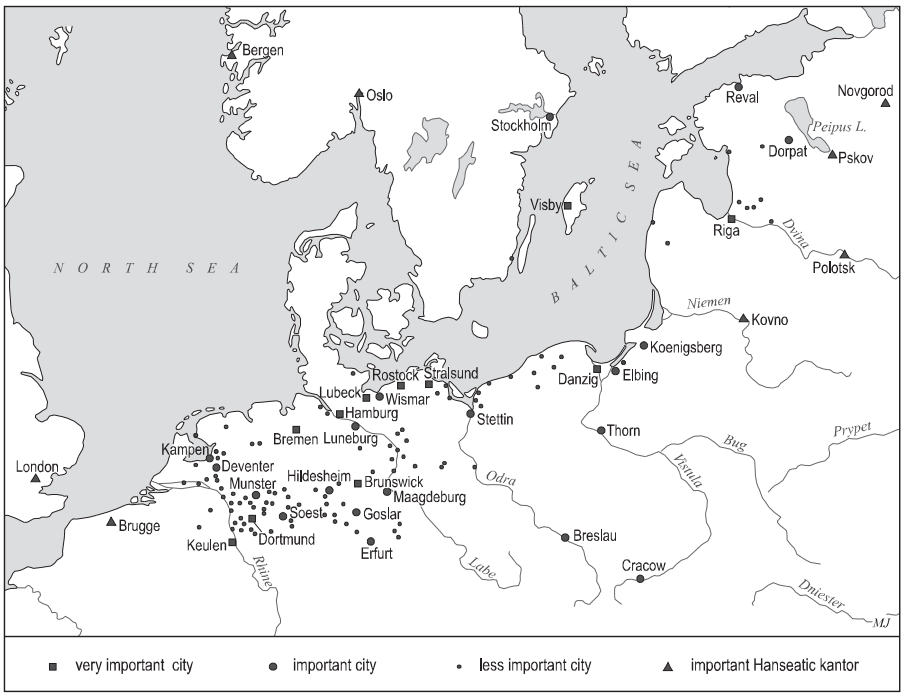
Red Ruthenia around 1400

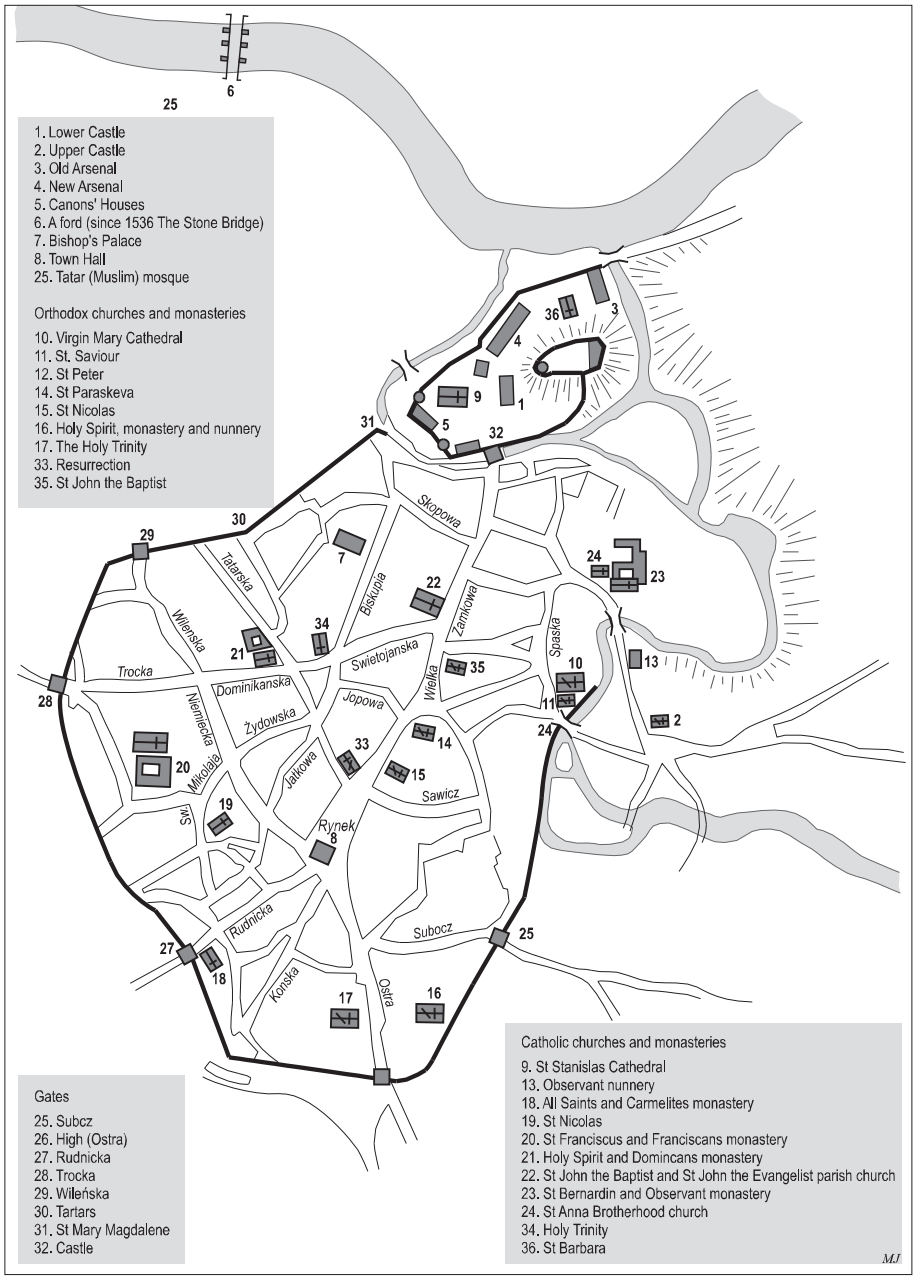
Livonia around 1500



The Main Hanseatic Towns in Northern Europe in the Late Middle Ages

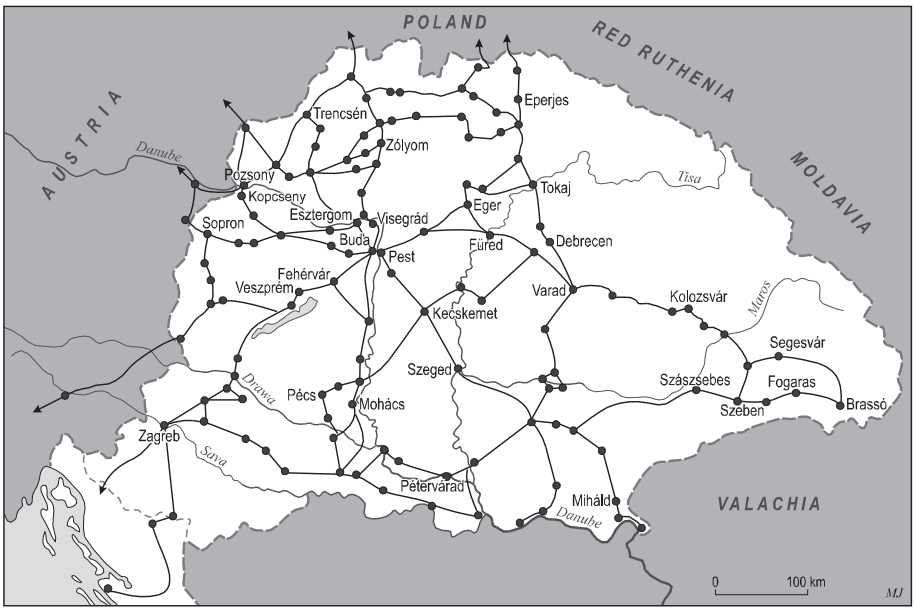


Vilnius around 1500



The Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages

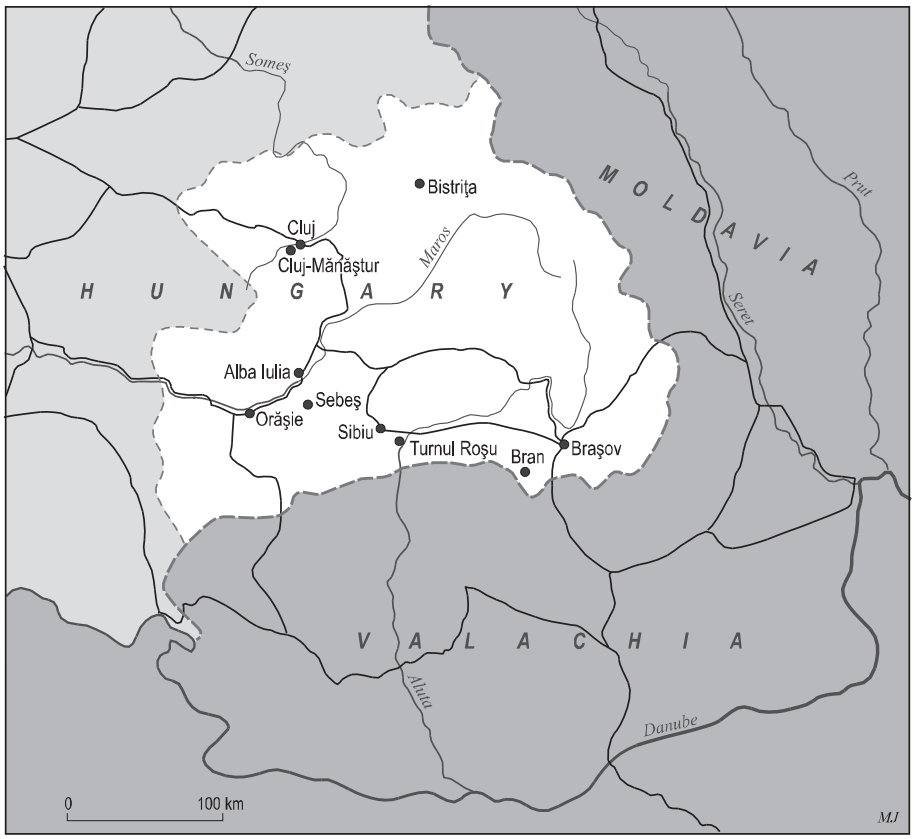
The Network of Hungarian Towns in the Late Middle Ages



Croatia: Geographical and Political Division at the End of the Sixteenth Century

The Town Network in the Iberian Kingdoms of the Late Middle Ages

The Main Towns of Transylvania in the Early Modern Period



# Introduction[1]

MARCO MOSTERT and ANNA ADAMSKA

Interest in the uses of writing in medieval urban settlements is not new at all. Research carried out from the 1980s onwards has led to the virtually unquestioned opinion that, in the Middle Ages, in towns one seemed to have had more chance of being confronted with writing than elsewhere. Moreover, there are reasons to assume that it was there, in the cities and in the in larger and smaller towns, that the 'modern' literate mentality was born.[2]

[1] Pages 1-3 of this text have been written as an introduction to both this volume and to *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy I*, ed. M. MOSTERT and A. ADAMSKA (Turnhout, 2014: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 27).

[2] Different from other social scientists, historians usually try to keep their distance from the fuzzy term 'mentality'. They avoid exclusive definitions, and prefer to enumerate the factors contributing to the development of 'literate mentalities'. Among the most important factors are the realisation that it is a 'natural' thing to preserve human actions in writing, and that written records can be used to reconstruct the past. Writing is 'trusted' as an instrument for fixing, defining events. Another, quantitative, factor is progress in alphabetisation: the spread of the elementary skills of reading and writing among ever more social groups. The development of literate mentalities can be measured by the growth (or decline) in the prestige of those individuals who can read and write. On the subject of 'literate mentality', see M.T. CLANCHY, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 2012), pp. 187-335; A. ADAMSKA, "The study of medieval literacy: Old sources, new ideas", in: *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, ed. A. ADAMSKA and M. MOSTERT (Turnhout, 2004: *Utrecht*

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 1-16.

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Publications on medieval urban literacy, however, continue to restrict themselves in great part to the realm of diplomatic and institutional history. They consider the different types of written records produced in towns, paying much attention to the history of the institutions producing, using, and keeping them. Nevertheless, in the last decades research has visibly expanded thanks to the intensive study of such phenomena as the use of public space in town, secular and religious ceremonies, and the forms of expressing the town's identity (or urban *memoria*). It remains true, nevertheless, that certain urban milieus participating in written culture continue to catch the scholars' attention more than others. The field is gradually increasing, however, and it no longer embraces only the professionals of the written word employed by municipal institutions, but also 'occasional' and 'accidental' creators and users of records.[3]

The long-term study of the urban communes of northern Italy undertaken by scholars from Münster has suggested a direct link between the reception of the written word in daily life and the emergence of literate mentalities. From the twelfth century onwards, these communes seem oriented towards the production and use of written texts ("*Schriftorientierung*"); they seem to have possessed a collective will to develop literacy ("*der kollektive Wille zu Schriftlichkeit*"). They also preserved written records. This readiness to engage in written culture can be considered as an important sign of changes in thinking and in the perception of the world. It shows an increasing growth of the use of the reasoning faculties ("*Rationalisierungsprozeß*").[4] When, in 2007, we started our research project on 'Medieval Urban Literacy', these observations formed an important stimulus for a renewed discussion of the nature of the phenomenon. From the very beginning it was clear that this discussion should be conducted from a comparative perspective, and take in as many examples as possible. Our aim was to abandon the limited and intellectually feeble comparisons which take into account only the most urbanised parts of late medieval

*Studies in Medieval Literacy* 9), pp. 13-47, at p. 37.

[3] Understanding the development of the research questionnaire is facilitated by M. MOSTERT, *A Bibliography of Works on Medieval Communication* (Turnhout, 2012: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 2), chapters 12 ("The use of writing by different social groups", pp. 347-383, and in particular pp. 364-372 on town dwellers), 13 ("Uses of writing in government, management and trade", pp. 385-414), and 4 ("Ritual", pp. 149-180).

[4] Th. BEHRMANN, "Einleitung: Ein neuer Zugang zum Schriftgut der oberitalienischen Kommunen", in: *Kommunales Schriftgut in Oberitalien: Formen, Funktionen, Überlieferung*, ed. H. KELLER and Th. BEHRMANN (Munich, 1995: *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften* 68), p. 1-16.

Europe.[5] Instead, it seemed fruitful to include also the 'peripheries' of medieval *Latinitas*, considering areas with their own dynamics of development of urban culture, such as the Iberian Peninsula, or indeed regions like Scandinavia or East Central Europe, which have been described as true peripheries.[6]

Our choice influenced also the chronological boundaries of the investigation. Focussing on some of the fully developed 'models' of the medieval town,[7] those of the communes of northern Italy and those of the towns of Europe north of the Alps which were organised according to so-called 'German law', we concentrated on the period between the late twelfth and the middle of the sixteenth century. For considerable parts of *Latinitas*, the terminus *ante quem* of the 'medieval' period had to be put in the more recent 'early modern' period, because local chronologies did not observe the traditional boundaries between the Middle Ages and early modern times. This is also reflected in the distribution of sources. As far as the history of literate behaviour in general is concerned, traditional periodisations of western history are to be reconsidered.[8]

[5] As examples of a comparative approach, see: *Memoria, Communitas, Civitas – Mémoire et conscience urbaines en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. H. BRAND *et al*. (Sigmaringen, 2003); *Villes de Flandre et d'Italie (XIII^e-XVI^e siècle): Les enseignements d'une comparaison*, ed. E. CROUZET-PAVAN and É. LECUPPRE-DESJARDIN (Turnhout, 2008: *Studies in European Urban History* 12).

[6] Some authors use the concept of 'centres' and 'peripheries' in a different way. Within the urban microcosm they treat municipal chanceries as 'centres' of the written culture (also in a spatial sense), while individual households had a 'peripherical position'. See A. LITSCHEL, "Writing and social evidence 'before the archives': Revealing and Concealing the written in late medieval Lüneburg", in: *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, pp. 185-208, and, to some extent, H. OBERMAIR, "The use of records in medieval towns: The case of Bolzano, South Tyrol", *ibid.*, pp. 49-68.

[7] Historians of social communication follow the discussions about the nature of medieval towns by specialists in the domain of urban history. What seems to be most relevant here is the question to which extent settlements fulfilled certain functions which are usually perceived as 'urban'. A town may or may not have functions in the exercise of power, in jurisdiction and in the organisation of religious life (i.e. in the organisation of the Church). A town may or may not have functions in the organisation of the local, regional or supra-regional economy. And one may wonder whether all towns had a role as cultural centres. From the abundant literature on this essential problem of urban history, see: *Was machte im Mittelalter zur Stadt? Selbstverständnis, Außensicht und Erscheinungsbilder mittelalterlicher Städte*, ed. K-U. JÄSCHKE and Ch. SCHRENK (Heilbronn, 2007: *Quellen und Forschungen zur geschichte der Stadt Heilbronn* 18).

[8] More on this problem A. ADAMSKA, "Orality and literacy in medieval East Central Europe: Final prolegomena", in: *Oral Art Forms and their Passage into Writing*, ed. E. MUNDAL and J. WELLENDORF (Copenhagen, 2008), pp. 69-83, at pp. 71 ff., and K. SZENDE, "Towns and the written word in medieval Hungary", in: *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, pp. 123-148, at pp. 126-127. See also A. WALSHAM and J. CRICK, "Introduction: Script, print and

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This volume's companion volume, *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, focussed on pragmatic, 'civic' uses of writing which met the needs of municipal governments. For a large part this type of literacy was developed by professionals of the written word working in the institutional framework of the town chancery. In this second volume on medieval urban literacy the wider spectrum of the uses of script in the urban environment will be discussed, even if we will not completely lose sight of municipal clerks or public notaries. The better to judge the functions of these professionals in the community, it is necessary to map other areas of written culture in town as well, and to determine writing's place within the 'urban' system of communication.

To this end, two questions suggests themselves. Who was able to participate in literacy through the skills of reading or writing? And how could one acquire basic and advanced literacy skills? Considering the variety in literacy among town dwellers (clerics[9] next to literate lay people, professionals of the written word[10] next to occasional users of writing, and all of these next to illiterates), one may assume that literacy skills differed from one social group to another. Research conducted over the last decades suggests that the urban environment created much more educational opportunities than non-urban

history", in: *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, ed. J. CRICK and A. WALSHAM (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 1-25. About the *terminus a quo* in the history of European urbanisation, see: *Die Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt im 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. J. JARNUT and P. JOHANEK (Cologne, 1998).

[9] On 'urban clergy', see *infra*, pp. 12-13.

[10] The professional formation of municipal clerks and notaries forms a problem in itself. Often, scholars attribute to them high level of education (see, e.g. B. GRBAVAC, "The professional formation of public notaries in Dalmatia from the second half of the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth century", in: *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, pp. 285-312, following the usual argumentation found also in, e.g. U.M. ZAHND, "Studium und Kanzlei: Der Bildingsweg von Stadt- und Ratsschreiber in eidgenössischen Städten des ausgehenden Mittelalters", in: *Gelehrte im Reich: Zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. R.Ch. SCHWINGES (Berlin, 1996: *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung: Beihefte* 18), pp. 453-476). However, we should also take into consideration apprenticeship as an equivalent way of acquisition of professional skills (see, e.g. M. MOSTERT, "Some thoughts on urban schools, urban literacy, and the development of western civilisation", in: *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, pp. 337-348, at p. 346).

ones, thanks to better access to schools, and also to the teaching that was done in the home.[11]

The importance of schools for the urban communities could be reflected by drawn-out conflicts between the ecclesiastical and municipal authorities about their control, teaching programme, and financial status. Such conflicts occurred all over Europe, from England to Poland. The main result of these confrontations was the emergence of a school system geared towards practical needs. This is most clearly visible in the towns of northern Italy and in the Hanseatic towns, but the model was adopted also in the peripheries of Europe. This is significant for our subject because it outlines the 'horizon of needs' of the urban populations, especially of the merchants.[12] The abilities of reading and writing were combined with numeracy skills such as making calculations, with accountancy, with knowledge of the writing of business letters, with knowledge of the regional *lingua franca* of commercial contacts, with an orientation in law and monetary systems – and, next to all this, with a certain amount of religious formation.[13] Several types of written records produced by lay town dwellers which are discussed in this volume reflect this type of formation.[14]

For the balanced judgement of the literacy skills possessed by the members of urban communities, other ways of participating in written culture should be considered as well. It is becoming ever more clear that a lack of the technical

[11] See MOSTERT, "Some thoughts", pp. 341-345. Teaching at home, at a first glance less visible on the map of the urban educational system, was still important both in the centres as in the peripheries of medieval *Latinitas*. See, e.g. R. WITT, "What did Giovannino read and write? Literacy in early Renaissance Florence", in: *Essays in the Renaissance*, ed. W. KAISER (Florence, 1995: *I Tatti Studies* 6), pp. 83-114, and A. BARTOSZEWICZ, "Urban literacy in small Polish towns and the process of 'modernisation' of society in the later Middle Ages", in: *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, pp. 149-182, at p. 165.

[12] See MOSTERT, "Some thoughts", pp. 345-347.

[13] From the abundant scholarly literature on the subject, we mention P. PORTET, "Les techniques du calcul élémentaire dans l'Occident médiéval: Un choix de lectures", in: *Écrire, compter, mesurer: Vers une histoire des rationalités pratiques*, ed. N. COQUERY *et al.* (Paris, 2006), pp. 51-66; I. CECCHERINI, "Le scritture dei notai e dei mercanti a Firenze tra Duecento e Trecento: Unità, varietà, stile", *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 24 (2010), pp. 29-68; M. KINTZINGER, "Schule und Bildung", in: *Die Hanse: Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos*, ed. J. BRACKER *et al.* (Lübeck, 1999), pp. 590-596; H. SAMSONOWICZ, "Kultura miejska", in: H. SAMSONOWICZ and M. BOGUCKA, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1986), pp. 213-283, at p. 268.

[14] See also J. DOTSON, "Fourteenth century merchant manuals and merchant culture", in: *Kaufmannsbücher und Handelspraktiken vom Spätmittelalter bis zum beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert – Merchant's Books and Mercantile Practice from the Late Middle Ages till the Twentieth Century*, ed. M.A. DENZEL *et al*. (Wiesbaden, 2002), p. 75-88.

abilities of reading and writing did not exclude individuals from contact with the written word – even if its active use could considerably change the town dwellers' attitudes to writing. As important as active and personal participation in written culture through different forms of reading and writing, is 'passive', 'indirect' literate behaviour. Examples of this are the delegation of tasks requiring literacy skills to professionals, semi-professionals, and 'occasional' scribes. They were much easier to find in the urban environment than elsewhere.[15] Familiarity with script, understanding how writing 'works', and an awareness of its graphical forms (even if one was technically unable to read the written message) influenced the average level of literacy in towns as strongly as alphabetisation as it is traditionally understood.[16] This simple observation is put to the test, however, when we take into account the complex ethnic and religious structures of medieval and early modern towns.

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[15] On the phenomenon of passive participation in literacy on different steps of the social ladder, see: A. ADAMSKA, "'*Audire, intelligere, memorie commendare*': Attitudes of the rulers of medieval Central Europe towards written texts", in: *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Texts, Relations and their Implications*, ed. S. RANKOVIĆ *et al*. (Turnhout, 2010: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 20), pp. 337-357; A. ADAMSKA and M. MOSTERT, "The literacies of medieval towndwellers and peasants: A preliminary investigation", in: *Świat Średniowiecza: Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi*, ed. A. BARTOSZEWICZ *et al*. (Warsaw, 2010), pp. 317-330. The easy access to services offered by 'occasional' professionals of pragmatic literacy persists. Armando Petrucci recalls that in the 1950s, at the entrance of the register of births, marriages, and deaths in Rome he often saw a crowding group of scribes ("*intermediari grafici*"), ready to produce any kind of document on the spot for anybody who would need it (A. PETRUCCI, *Prima Lezione di Paleografia* (Rome and Bari, 2002), pp. 25-26).

[16] See M. MOSTERT, "Forgery and trust", in: *Strategies of Writing: Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. SCHULTE *et al.* (Turnhout, 2008: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 13), pp. 37-59; I. LARSSON, "Producing, using, and keeping records in medieval Swedish towns", in: *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, pp. 13-30, at pp. 28-29. It is worth adding that the cumulation of relatively high alphabetisation and familiarity with the written word was not limited to urban settlements within medieval *Latinitas*. See: J. SCHAEKEN, "The birchbark documents in time and space – Revisited", in: *Epigraphic Literacy and Christian Identity: Modes of Written Discourse in the Newly Christian European North*, ed. K. ZILMER and J. JESCH (Turnhout, 2012: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 4), pp. 201-224; D. BUBALO, *Pragmatic Literacy in Medieval Serbia* (Turnhout, 2014: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 29).

Several studies in this volume present the complicated interconnections between the languages of oral and written communication on the one hand, and religious and ethnical identity on the other, especially in the cities in the eastern periphery of late medieval *Latinitas*. They provide an excellent illustration of phenomena discussed by experts of the social history of language,[17] for instance the existence of several linguistic communities, which could be open or closed, whose frontiers intersected, and which could be in a state of contact or conflict. An individual could be a member of several linguistic and textual communities at the same time, because he or she had to operate within different languages at home, when going to church or to the market, or when appearing before the judge. The practice of oral and written communication in cities such as Lviv or Vilnius[18] confirms the opinion that language was a factor working 'across' and not only 'within' ethnic and social strata.

At one and the same moment, several languages could possess the status of languages of prestige, depending on the cultural setting in which they were used. In East Central Europe and in Scandinavia the usual dichotomy between Latin and the vernacular(s) clearly shifted in the direction of a complex relationship between Latin, German,[19] and indigenous vernaculars. As Anti Selart's analysis of the term *undeutsch* shows, the prestige of a language could be strongly reinforced by social distinction, often stigmatising those who were unable to use it.[20] More often, however, prestige was based on the fact that a language was a transmitter of religion or of a legal system, or because it played the role of a *lingua franca* (*Umgangssprache*). The uses of German, which could play almost all of these roles in different parts of the north eastern periphery of medieval Europe, prove to be a fascinating theme.[21]

[17] The questionnaire of the discipline has been presented several times by Peter Burke. See P. BURKE, "The social history of language", in: *The Social History of Language*, ed. P. BURKE and R. PORTER (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 1-34; ID., *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 15 ff.

[18] See the contributions by A. JANECZEK and J. NIEDŹWIEDŹ to this volume.

[19] Properly speaking, it was a matter of different variants of the Middle Low German and Middle High German.

[20] See the contribution of A. SELART to this volume.

[21] See A. ADAMSKA, "Latin and three vernaculars in East Central Europe from the point of view of the history of social communication", in: *Spoken and Written Language: Relations between Latin and the Vernacular Languages in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. M. GARRISON *et al.* (Turnhout, 2013: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 24), pp. 325-364. A good example of an extreme valorisation of language are the attitudes towards the so-called 'heretical' texts, discussed in our volume in the contribution by P. KRAS. All texts with religious content written in the vernacular were treated as suspicious by the ecclesiastical authorities, while Latin ensured,

From the point of view of the historian of literacy, however, even more important is the conclusion that in practice the barriers posed by the multiplicity of spoken languages were much easier to overcome than those of 'alien' writing systems.[22] We observe the existence not only of linguistic and textual communities, but also of 'alphabetical' communities, which most probably were more closed than the linguistic ones. The idea of alphabetical communities challenges the earlier concept of familiarity with script, as this familiarity seems to have been unbalanced. One can assume that, for instance, in the reality of the towns of Red Ruthenia, Lithuania, or Livonia, familiarity with the dominant Latin alphabet was more widespread among the minorities than familiarity with these minorities' alphabets among the majority – let alone familiarity with the alphabets of 'outsiders'. Crossing the borders of one's mother tongue and of one's 'own' alphabet was probably stimulated in the first place by the demands of the urban proto-bureaucracy, based as it was on a legal system of written texts in one particular language and using a particular alphabet.[23]

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An awareness of the multiplicity of languages and alphabets in the urban environment is important when confronting the problem of the personal literate behaviour of individual town dwellers. The contributions to this volume deal with only a few fragments from the wide spectrum of written records produced and kept by individuals. There is no doubt that the institutional, administrative literacy of the municipalities forced the use of certain written records by individuals. As time passed, certificates of legitimate birth and testaments were required if one was to be allowed to function within a community. The ability to show written confirmations of business transactions and of the ownership of

at least at first sight, the orthodoxy of a text's contents.

[22] A. JANECZEK, in this volume, p. 28; J. NIEDZWIEDZ, in this volume, pp. 101-102. Cf. A. ADAMSKA, "Latin and vernacular – Reading and meditation: Two Polish queens and their books", in: *Cultures of Religious Reading in the Late Middle Ages: Instructing the Soul, Feeding the Spirit, and Awakening the Passion*, ed. S. CORBELLINI (Turnhout, 2013: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 25), pp. 219-246, at p. 238.

[23] The importance of the language of law has been emphasised recently, e.g. in *Rechts- und Sprachtransfer in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, ed. E. EICHLER and H. LÜCK (Berlin, 2008).

goods, and receipts for the payment of debts, was proving ever more useful and profitable.[24]

It is fascinating to see how homogeneous were the forms of some of the records belonging to the sphere of this personalised administrative literacy. Testaments, discussed in our volume with respect to late medieval Poland and Transylvania, were no different from the testaments known from other parts of Europe. Everywhere the development of testamentary practices from the thirteenth century onwards took place in a situation of tension which is typical for pre-modern literacy: that of tension between spoken and written law, between Latin and vernacular languages, and finally between a formulaic text and the individuality of its author. Last wills and testaments also illustrate an important mark of literate behaviour already mentioned here: the delegation of the technical task of making records to the professionals of the written word, or to accidental scribes.

This kind of literate behaviour, which was active but nevertheless indirect, aided as it was by intermediaries, acquired a direct character when town dwellers started producing written records using their own hand: to put in writing their accounts, to correspond by letter, or to create written testimony of the history of their own families. These testimonies could be in the modest form of memoranda notices in the margins of their prayer books.[25] They could also develop into official accounts of the history of a family, so-called *Familienbücher*, *libri di famiglia*, or *ricordanze*. Such books from Nuremberg, presented in this volume by Karin Czaja, are an attractive example of the efforts spent on the organising and ordering of the collective *memoria*[26] of small (fam-

[24] See BARTOSZEWICZ, "Urban literacy in small Polish towns", pp. 162-164, and A. LITSCHEL, "Writing and social evidence 'before the archives': Revealing and concealing the written in late medieval Lüneburg", in: *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, pp. 185-208, at p. 194.

[25] Cf. G VAN SYNGHEL, "The use of records in medieval towns: The case of 's-Hertogenbosch", in: *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, pp. 31-48, at p. 46. The practice of making personal notes (e.g. about the birth of one's children) on the margins or empty pages of Books of Hours or other prayer books which were often passed form one generation to the next, is well known from studies of the literate behaviour of the social elites (see, e.g., A. ADAMSKA, "The Jagiellonians and the written word: Some preliminary remarks about royal literacy in the later Middle Ages", in: *Hofkultur der Jagiellonendynastie und verwandter Fürstenhäuser – The Culture of the Jagiellonian and Related Courts*, ed. U. BORKOWSKA and M. HÖRSCH (Ostfildern, 2010: *Studia Jagiellonica Lipsiensia* 6), pp. 153-169, at p. 160).

[26] We use this term in the sense given to it by German scholars from the 1980s onwards. For a bibliographical overview, see M. BORGOLTE, "*Memoria*: Bilan intermédiaire d'un projet de recherche sur le Moyen Âge", in: *Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire du Moyen Âge en France*

ily) communities within the large urban community. Their development testifies to the "naturalisation of writing in burgherly households" in late medieval times.[27] Equally relevant is the fact that they were kept up to date by several generations. This allows an analysis of changes in their internal organisation, for instance the development of strategies of including documents or cross-references to records remaining in the archives.

Scholars are right to emphasise the many similarities between *Familienbücher* and cartularies, but even more interesting is their resemblance to the town books.[28] It is visible that their authors learned to manage written records through experience of the domain of pragmatic literacy. From it they took certain habits of organising the written word (for instance the layout of the page, the way of making cross-references, the use of wax tablets and marginal notes) and transferred them to the other texts they created, such as family histories or texts with religious content.[29]

At the same time, questions need to be asked when discussing the problem of the role of towns as centres of the production of manuscript and early printed books. Using statistics and arguments of quantitative codicology, the careful analysis of this role by Eltjo Buringh provides earlier scholarly opinions, which until now were based on case studies and estimations only,[30] with verifiable evidence that towns were indeed centres of book production on a proto-industrial scale. The article of Antoni Iglesias in its turn cleverly shows the complex network of the lay professionals and semi-professionals involved in book production and trade, taking as an example late medieval Barcelona. Doubts remain, however, whether the production of books in town was an intellectual activity, or whether it was a craft like any other. This question is even more interesting when one considers the large participation of 'occasional' scribes for whom the copying of books was a job on the side, next to their main occupation as merchant or craftsman.[31] Hearing about a tex-

*et en Allemagne*, ed. J-Cl. SCHMITT and O.G. OEXLE (Paris, 2003), pp. 53-69.

[27] So LITSCHEL, "Writing and social evidence 'before the archives'", p. 204.

[28] See the contribution by K. CZAJA to this volume, esp. pp. 327-328.

[29] See the examples discussed by S. CORBELLINI, "Beyond orthodoxy and heterodoxy: A new approach to late medieval religious reading", in: *Cultures Of Religious Reading in the Late Middle Ages*, pp. 33-53.

[30] On the methodology of this kind of research, see: E. ORNATO, "La codicologie quantitative, outil privilégié de l'histoire du livre médiéval", *Historia – Instituciones – Documentos* 18 (1991), p. 375-402.

[31] This practice is known also from other regions. See, e.g. E. POTKOWSKI, "'*Cathedrales Poloniae*': Copistes professionnels en Pologne à la fin du Moyen Âge", in: *Le statut du scripteur*

tile merchant from Barcelona who earned additional money as a scribe,[32] one wonders whether this small job influenced his personal literate behaviour. Was such a part-time scribe also a reader? Did he also copy some texts for his own use? Presumably he was he able to read, although there may also have been scribes with a hand good enough to reproduce a text without fully understanding its content.[33]

This matter is more difficult to reflect upon than the advanced literate behaviour of the fourteenth-century merchants of northern Italy, expressed in their reading, copying, and writing commentaries on pious literature for the sake of their own spiritual development. This was mirrored on a smaller scale elsewhere,[34] but for most areas of medieval *Latinitas* personal participation in written culture is indicated first of all by the possession of books.[35] Considering this topic, one has to remember that in the multilingual and multi-alphabetical settings of late medieval towns the circulation of books should be investigated separately for every textual and alphabetical community. The parallel histories of Cyrillic and Latin books in Vilnius at the turn of early modern times, sketched by Jakub Niedźwiedź, clearly show the need of simultaneous analysis. It seems as if in all these communities, however separated they were from one another, the late medieval period knew secular readers of religious literature who owned at least a personal prayer book, and were not afraid to compete with their parish priest in knowledge of the Bible.[36] This suggests that the development of literacy may have influenced an 'urban' model of lay piety, although it would probably go too far to assume the emergence of two separate

*au Moyen Âge*: *Actes du XII^e colloque scientifique du Comité International de Paléographie Latine*, ed. M.-C. HUBERT *et al*. (Paris, 2000), pp. 333-343, at p. 334.

[32] See the contribution of J.A. IGLESIAS-FONSECA to this volume, at p. 187.

[33] On this topic, C. JACOBSEN, "A modern scribe views scribes of the past", in: *Scraped, Strokes, and Bound: Materially Engaged Readings of Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. J. WILCOX (Turnhout, 2013: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 23), pp. 75-92, is well worth reading.

[34] Sabrina Corbellini calls this kind of literate behaviour "active readership" (CORBELLINI, "Beyond orthodoxy", p. 36). On the same literate behaviour of town dwellers in Poland, see the conclusion of BARTOSZEWICZ, "Urban literacy in small Polish towns", p. 181.

[35] Of course, one is aware that 'possession' was not a decisive factor for judging the reading skills and literate behaviour of the owner. See e.g. P. KRAS' opinion about the posession of manuscripts of heretical texts, in his contribution to this volume, at p. 197.

[36] Tracing the reception of heretical texts says much about the circulation of manuscripts, even in small urban communities in the eastern periphery of the *Latinitas* (see the contribution of P. KRAS to this volume, at p. 222). The topic of the 'democratisation' of access to religious literature has an abundant bibliography. See most recently *Cultures of Religious Reading*, *passim*.

urban models of religious behaviour, one for literates and another for illiterates.[37]

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In the landscape of the uses of the written word in medieval towns, of often strongly 'personalised' pragmatic, sacral, and memorial literacy, once again we see the professionals of the written word who were employed by the municipality at work in the most unexpected places. They were real intermediaries of pragmatic literacy between their main place of work and the members of the community at large. Not only did they participate in urban book production, but in some places they exercised control over the circulation of books as well.[38] The contributions to our volume confirm the opinion[39] that they were also creators and managers of a collective communal identity, expressed through the official accounts of the history of their community of which they were the authors. Such chronicles were meant to provide answers to two crucial questions. Where do we come from as a community? And what in our past has made us so special? As one might expect, an important part of the *materia scribendi* about the communal past was an urban myth of origins which might derive from ancient or Christian history. This myth could also draw on the strong self-consciousness of a community (as in twelfth-century Genoa), and, as time passed, adopt the 'modern', humanist rules of historical narrative.[40]

[37] On the concept of 'civic piety', see A. VAUCHEZ, "Introduction", in: *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne (Chrétienté et Islam): Actes du colloque organisé par le centre de recherches "Histoire sociale et culturelle de l'Occident, XII^e-XVIII^e siècle" de l'Université de Paris X-Nanterre et l'Institut universitaire de France (Nanterre, 21-23 juin 1993)*, ed. A. VAUCHEZ (Rome, 1995: *Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 213), pp. 1-5, and H. MANIKOWSKA, "Wstęp: Religijność miejska", in: *Ecclesia et civitas: Kościół i życie religijne w mieście średniowiecznym*, ed. H. MANIKOWSKA and H. ZAREMSKA (Warsaw, 2002: *Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia* 3), p. 11-34. It is regrettable that this in-depth analysis did not make an impact on international scholarship; it was of course published in a lesser-known language.

[38] See the contribution of J.A. IGLESIAS-FONSECA to this volume, at pp. 180-181.

[39] See H. LOWAGIE, "The political implications of urban archival documents in the late medieval Flemish cities: The example of the *Diary of Ghent*", in: *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, pp. 209-218; P. JOHANEK, "Hofhistoriograph und Stadchronist", in: *Autorentypen*, ed. W. HAUG and B. WACHINGER (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 50-68; *Stadt, Kanzlei und Kultur im Übergang zur Frühen Neuzeit – City Culture and Urban Chanceries in an Era of Change*, ed. R. SUNTRUP and J.R. VEENSTRA (Frankfurt a.M. and Berlin, 2004).

[40] See the contributions of M. CAMPOPIANO and I. KURELAC to this volume. Comparative

In the creation of 'civic' history, clergy participated as actively as the lay professionals of the written word in the service of the municipal governments. Written practices of *memoria* of individual religious communities, as for instance that of the collegial chapter of St. Donatian in Bruges,[41] were somehow part of the memorial practices of the whole urban community. Other forms of 'fusion' of municipal and ecclesiastical elements can be added to the list of phenomena of urban literacy, such as mendicant houses functioning as municipal archives and *loca credibilia*, together with cathedral and collegial chapters, and the support of the municipal administration by clergy in the early stages of the urban community's development. Together this suggests a high level of participation by the clergy in the development of urban literacy. This suggestion inspires reflection on the nature of the 'urban' Church.[42]

The relationship between Church and town shows two-way traffic. The evidence of town clerks working for ecclesiastical institutions, discussed in our companion volume,[43] lets one see urban literacy as a net of complex interconnections between ecclesiastical and secular structures. In practice there was a permanent exchange of skills and services rather than two separate bureaucratic systems working in parallel.

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To evaluate properly all dimensions of urban literacy one needs to establish its place within the framework of 'urban' communication generally.[44] So-called 'urban rituals' were marked by a high density of interconnections between orality, sonority, and all kinds of visual messages in a relatively limited

materials from Northern Europe are provided in the publications quoted in the previous note. See also J. RAUSCHERT, "Trust and visualisation: Illustrated chronicles in the late Middle Ages: The Swiss illustrated chronicle by Diebold Schilling from Luzern, 1513", in: *Strategies of Writing*, pp. 165-182.

[41] See the contribution of H. CALLEWIER to this volume.

[42] A medieval town was without doubt a special kind of sacral community, in which sacral and secular structures met. Form the legal point of view these structures may have been separate, but at the same time they used and authorised each other (see MANIKOWSKA, "Wstęp", pp. 11-12).

[43] VAN SYNGHEL, "The use of records in medieval towns", pp. 43-44.

[44] The character of the town as a special *Kommunikationsraum* has often been emphasised in the scholarly literature. See, e.g. *Kommunikation in mittelalterlichen Städten*, ed. J. OBERSTE (Regensburg, 2007: *Forum Mittelalter – Studien* 3); *Die Stadt als Kommunikationsraum*, ed. I.Ch. BECKER (Ostfildern, 2011: *Stadt in der Geschichte* 37).

physical space. The term 'urban ritual' usually refers to recurrent collective activities in which sacral and secular, 'civic' elements were closely associated with each other.[45] The celebration of religious feasts, for instance of the 'typically' urban feast of Corpus Christi, the commemoration of the saints who were the patrons of the community, and the processions of fraternities were multimedial performances, just as royal entries, installations of new mayors, or the public punishment of criminals. Careful studies by Dusan Zupka and Katell Lavéant show how 'dramatic' urban culture could be.[46]

In Hungarian, French, Italian, or Flemish towns, the written word formed only part of urban rituals, and not necessarily the most important one, if one considers the cumulation of visual and aural messages. This conclusion inspires questions about the efficacy of the different forms of communication in town. Within the phonic area, marked by church bells, music, and the sounds of drums and door knockers, the human voice, especially that of the official town crier, probably was among the most efficient instruments of communication.[47] It was accessible to everybody who was able to understand the language in which such a messenger was making his proclamations in the name of the municipality. As far as the multiple instruments of visual communication are concerned, the problem is more complex. It would be too optimistic to assume that everybody in the crowd assisting at a royal entry, for instance in the Hungarian capital of Buda[48] was able to 'read' and properly understand the message enclosed in the colours, gestures, movements, and objects possessing symbolic value that were on display. Some spectators could recognise the members of the cortège by their clothes, coats of arms and attributes; some others would be able to identify the king; but many people would only know that something important was happening, because there were richly clad lords on horses, music, and bells tolling ... To designate the levels of participation in visual communication, the concept of 'visual literacy' is helpful, that is the competence in decoding and understanding visual messages. As in the case of 'textual' literacy it can be shown to possess different registers and levels.[49]

[45] The state of research is presented, with bibliographical references, in the contribution of D. ZUPKA in this volume. See also MOSTERT, *A Bibliography*, pp. 149-180 (chapter 4, "Ritual").

[46] See K. LAVÉANT, in this volume, at p. 383.

[47] On the status of the town crier and the uses of public space in the late medieval town, see the example discussed in N. OFFENSTADT, *En place publique: Jean de Gascogne, crieur au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 2013).

[48] See the contribution of D. ZUPKA to this volume, at pp. 367-368.

[49] See W.J. DIEBOLD, "Verbal, visual and cultural literacy in medieval art: Word and Image

What strikes us about urban visual literacy is that its level could be increased through the use of additional spoken or written information. Spectators at a royal entry could enlarge their understanding of the event when someone explained to them the meaning of the things they saw.[50] The efficacy of visual communication, which was very much embedded in the framework of a concrete time and place, depended to some extent on the support of the forms of orality and literacy.

We devote express attention to this problem because it seems that the mechanisms of visual communication also applied to the main form in which the written word was present in the urban space, that is to inscriptions.[51] In the towns of northern Italy they appear to have been one of the most common instruments used by the municipal governments to mark a public space, and to create collective identity through providing information about the communal past. In other parts of Europe, the place of the inscriptions rather signified control by the town's lord. Everywhere, however, the inscriptions' accessibility, visibility, and legibility formed the main issue.[52] It is too easily assumed that the very presence of inscriptions on the facade of a church or a town hall,

in the Psalter of Charles the Bald", *Word and Image* 8 (1992), pp. 89-99. This is mirrored by German ideas of *Schriftlichkeit* and *Bildlichkeit* (M. CURSCHMANN, "*Pictura laicorum litteratura*? Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Bild und volkssprachlicher Schriftlichkeit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter bis zum Codex Manesse (Abb. 2-11)", in: *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter*, ed. H. KELLER *et al*. (Munich, 1992: *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften* 65), pp. 211-230. These concepts settle an old discussion on the accessibility of pictorial images (see, e.g. L.G. DUGGAN, "Reflections on 'Was art really the 'Book of the illiterate?'", in: *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication*, ed. M. HAGEMAN and M. MOSTERT (Turnhout, 2005: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 8), pp. 109-119.

[50] This kind of relationship between visual and oral communication is discussed ever more often in the scholarly literature. See, e.g. the concept of *visibile parlare* used by P. BOUCHERON, *Conjurer la peur: Sienne, 1338: Essay sur la force politique des images* (Paris, 2013), pp. 103-116, and the analysis of the meanings of urban processions by E. MUIR, "The eye of the procession", in: *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. N. HOWE (Notre Dame, IND, 2007), pp. 129-153.

[51] The definition of 'inscription' used by A. ZAJIC in his contribution to this volume is broader that that dominating the older scholarly literature. Apart from texts carved in hard materials, it embraces also the quite popular form of displaying texts on wooden tablets. See also A. NEDKVITNE, *The Social Consequences of Literacy in Medieval Scandinavia* (Turnhout, 2004: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 11), p. 41; R. MARKS, "Picturing word and text in the late medieval parish church", in: *Image, Text and Church, 1380-1600: Essays for Margeret Aston*, ed. L. CLARK *et al.* (Toronto, 2009), pp. 162-188.

[52] See the contributions of M. CAMPOPIANO and A. ZAJIC to this volume, and also M. VON DER HÖH, *Errinerungskultur und frühe Kommune: Formen und Funktionen des Umgangs mit der Vergangenheit im hochmittelalterlichen Pisa (1050-1150)* (Berlin, 2006).

inside these buildings, or in the graveyard, stimulated 'familiarity' with the written word. Systematic research is needed to understand how their messages were transmitted in practice to those who were unable to read epigraphic script themselves.

Reflection on the strategies of placing inscriptions in urban space contributes to the broader study of the topography of literacy in towns. One can easily imagine that the institutional uses of writing occurred in the town's heart: in the town hall or castle which, together with a market place, spatially defined the town's communal identity. The market place saw ceremonies of making and reading aloud documents – and also the spectacular acts of their destruction.[53] A considerable amount of the daily practice of municipal literacy was also carried out by parish churches and religious houses, and their implantation in large part determined a town's topography of literacy. Their own infrastructure (for instance the churches' own book collections and collections of documents, their schools, and their space for the placement of inscriptions and epitaphs) were part of the cultural equipment of the whole urban community, and their vicinity could attract booksellers and the production of books.[54] In some of the larger urban centres of late medieval times the map of literacy had an extra dimension thanks to the formation of clearly visible university districts, which were much easier to spot than the private places of contact with the written word in the houses of town dwellers.

The topography of urban literacy can be regarded also in another way. Case studies prove that the active literate behaviour of town dwellers in the domain of pragmatic literacy was very often limited to the most wealthy inhabitants of town. In Bolzano, for instance, more or less three quarters of population did not have the chance to be documented in the municipal records.[55] Such data should never be forgotten when we admire the multifaceted urban uses of writing.

[53] See the contribution of D. ZUPKA to this volume, at p. 354; J. VAN LEEUWEN, "Rebels, texts and triumph: The use of written documents during the revolt of 1477 in Bruges", in: *Strategies of Writing*, p. 301-322, at pp. 308 and 312 ff. On the role of urban space as an instrument of creating collective identity, see: *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe – L'apparition d'une identité urbaine dans l'Europe du bas Moyen Âge*, ed. M. BOONE and P. STABEL (Leuven and Apeldoorn, 2000).

[54] See the contributions of H. CALLEWIER and J.A. IGLESIAS-FONSECA to this volume.

[55] H. OBERMAIR, "The use of records in medieval towns", p. 56. The same conclusion is reached in respect of testamentary practices in Cracow by J. WYSMUŁEK in his contribution to this volume, at pp. 310-312.

*Part I*

# Alphabets and Languages: Multi-Ethnic and Multilingual Urban Literacies

# Urban Communes, Ethnic Communities, and Language Use in Late Medieval Red Ruthenian Towns

ANDRZEJ JANECZEK

The fourteenth century saw territorial changes in the eastern part of the continent of Europe, the consequences of which went far beyond the sphere of politics. The crisis of the Ruthenian state and the decline of the princedoms of western Rus' paved the way for the expansion of the neighbouring countries, including Poland and Lithuania. The territorial gains made by Poland included a large part of Halich-Volhynian Rus'. The old political border of Poland and Rus' and, at the same time, the ethnic border between the Eastern and Western Slavs, as well as the divide between the civilisation of Latin Europe and that of the Orthodox-Byzantine world, moved several hundred kilometres to the east. A vast area of transition took shape between this border's old and new positions. It became part of a large zone of osmosis between the East and West, which gave rise to the appearance of East Central Europe as a unique cultural formation.

The Kingdom of Poland occupied both the lands that were later called Red Ruthenia and part of Podolia, known from the late eighteenth century as East-

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 19-35.

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ern Galicia. The Polish state gained an alien area, dissimilar in its political tradition, the organisation of its economy, and specific social relations, and with ties to a different, Byzantine-Orthodox civilisation. After the annexation, phenomena typical of a frontier area appeared: a sudden surplus of free land; a sense of emptiness; underpopulation; the lack of a suitable, efficient economy; a feeling that there was a need for reconstruction, improvement, and the creation of suitable administration and military forces; and the necessity of introducing the 'true' religion, understood not only as creating the institutions of the Catholic Church, but also as converting the autochthonous population of another confession (the Orthodox Ruthenians) by various means. The difference in the level of development of the annexed region set into motion processes of economic reform, migration, colonisation, and urbanisation. The profound rearrangement of the political and social order in Ruthenia carried with it cultural reorientation, Occidentalisation, and the adaptation of Polish cultural patterns. Among these adopted cultural patterns was a transformation in the field of literacy: the extension of writing and documentation, promoted by the newly installed institutions of royal administration, the court system, the self-government of the nobility, municipal towns, and the Catholic Church.[1] An increase in pragmatic literacy and the growth of the role of writing in the public sphere were one part of the processes of modernisation that spread throughout Red Ruthenia under Polish rule.

The general trend of social change taking place in Red Ruthenia after the mid-fourteenth century led to heterogeneity. The main aim of the reform of the economy applied in Ruthenia, called in this part of Europe colonisation based on the so-called German law (Saxon-Magdeburg law), was to promote migration and attract people. This strategic aim can be easily seen in many colonised areas of Europe. The mechanism of transformation was geared towards using alien arrivals, who came from outside the area itself, regardless of their origin,

[1] On the paucity of the administrative writing in Kievan Rus' see S. FRANKLIN, "Literacy and documentation in early medieval Russia", *Speculum* 60.1 (1985), pp. 1-38; ID., *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950-1300* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 129 ff. A clear turn towards making use of written documents as instruments of power and jurisdiction in late medieval Ruthenia is noticed by Th. WÜNSCH, "Verschriftlichung und Politik in Rotrussland (14.-15. Jh.): Zum kulturgeschichtlichen Aussagewert mittelalterlicher Gerichtsaufzeichnungen", in: *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, ed. A. ADAMSKA and M. MOSTERT (Turnhout, 2004: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 9), pp. 93-105. A similar view can be found in Y. ZAZULYAK, "'*Ego huic inscriptione non credo ... ipse scribere potuit, quod voluit*': Law, literacy and daily life in late medieval Galicia", *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, 57 (2008), pp. 12-27.

and also towards concentrating the migrants (*homines in unum congregare*) and keeping them in their new places of habitation through the use of various forms of encouragement and privileges. The heterogeneity was thus in a way an ingrained feature of the colonisation reform; the source areas of the migration differed by principle from the target area.

The feature of heterogeneity was much more pronounced in the towns of Red Ruthenia than in the rural areas. Whereas in the rural areas the colonisation had a limited scope and embraced only part of the settlements, in towns the situation was very different. All of the towns were founded anew. In the late Middle Ages in Red Ruthenia only one kind of urban organisation existed – that based on the Saxon-Magdeburg law – and each town was established on the basis of a *locatio* settlement act. As many as 110 of these towns were founded in Red Ruthenia by 1500; if Crown Podolia is taken into account as well, the number is closer to 140.[2] The towns which were formed according to this pattern were uniform in terms of their internal organisation, but diverse in their ethnic, religious, and cultural composition.

The migrations which Red Ruthenia saw were multidirectional, rather than limited to a single influx from the West to the East.[3] They were characterised not only by considerable ethnic diversification but also by the marked specialisation of the social and professional roles of their participants. Colonisation based on the German law, both rural and urban, went through a wide corridor leading eastward from Silesia and Lesser Poland to Ruthenia. This was the route by which German and Polish populations arrived, as well as the Ashkenazic Jews (who became more numerous after the mid-fifteenth century). They went mainly to the towns. In this understanding, the progress of *ius Theuthonicum* to the East together with the German *Ostsiedlung* and the Jewish immigration are all parallel processes. However, the Jews in Poland remained completely outside the organisation of the communal town.[4]

[2] Ch. von Werdt, *Stadt und Gemeindebildung in Ruthenien: Okzidentalisierung der Ukraine und Weißrusslands im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden, 2006: *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 66); A. Janeczek, "Faktorie, powiaty i dwory: Trzy sfery miejskiego ruchu lokacyjnego na Rusi Czerwonej (xiii-xv wiek)", in: *Procesy lokacyjne miast w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. C. Buśko, M. Goliński, and B. Krukiewicz (Wrocław, 2006: *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* 2985), pp. 421-445.

[3] A. Janeczek, "Kolonisationsströmungen im polnisch-reußischen Grenzgebiet von der Mitte des 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert", in: *Wanderungen und Kulturaustausch im östlichen Mitteleuropa: Forschungen zum ausgehenden Mittelalter und zur jüngeren Neuzeit*, ed. H.-W. Rautenberg (Munich, 2006: *Völker, Staaten und Kulturen in Ostmitteleuropa* 1), pp. 29-58.

[4] Ch. Lübke, "'... und es kommen zu ihnen ... Mohammedaner, Juden und Türken': Die

The south was the direction from which the Walachians came. They formed a professional corporation *sui generis* specialised in shepherding and cattle rearing. Ethnically they were composed of Romanian-Balkan elements with a Ruthenian admixture. The starting point of the Walachians' migrations was formed, besides Moldavia and Walachia, by the northern and eastern areas of the Hungarian state (Transylvania, Maramureş, and Slovakia). These settlement waves were moving westward along the Carpathians, reaching Moravia and Silesia, and spreading sideways into Ruthenia.[5] In principle they avoided towns, although they sometimes reached the suburbs. This plebeian movement was accompanied by another one of a different social composition and a specific, military and auxiliary character, represented by the petty Walachian knights. From the Crimea, Armenia, and Persia, and later also from Moldavia and Transylvania, Armenian migrations arrived which were directed almost exclusively towards the towns. They started arriving probably already in the

mittelalterlichen Grundlagen des Judentums im östlichen Europa", in: *Juden und Antisemitismus im östlichen Europa*, ed. M. HAUSLEITNER and M. KATZ (Berlin, 1995), pp. 39-57; I.M. TASHMA, "On the history of the Jews in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Poland", in: *Jews in Early Modern Poland*, ed. G.D. HUNDERT (London, 1997: *Polin* 10), pp. 287-317; J. HEYDE, "Jüdische Siedlung und Gemeindebildung in mittelalterlichen Polen", in: *Jüdische Gemeinden und ihr christlicher Kontext in kulturräumlich vergleichender Betrachtung von der Spätantike bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. CH. CLUSE, A. HAVERKAMP and I.J. YUVAL (Hannover, 2003), pp. 249-266; H. PETERSEN, *Judengemeinde und Stadtgemeinde in Polen: Lemberg 1356-1581* (Wiesbaden, 2003: *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 61); H. ZAREMSKA, "Migracje Żydów aszkenazyjskich w średniowiecznej Europie", in: *Wędrówka i etnogeneza w starożytności i średniowieczu*, ed. M. SALAMON and J. STRZELCZYK (Cracow, 2004), pp. 291-303; A. JANECZEK, "Żydzi i Ormianie – dwie gminy religijno-prawne w krajobrazie etnicznym późnośredniowiecznej Polski", in: *Animarum cultura: Studia nad kulturą religijną na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, 1, *Struktury kościelno-publiczne*, ed. H. MANIKOWSKA and W. BROJER (Warsaw, 2008), pp. 271-298.

[5] K. DOBROWOLSKI, "Migracje wołoskie na ziemiach dawnego państwa polskiego", in: *Pasterstwo Tatr Polskich i Podhala*, 8 vols. (Wrocław, 1959-1970), 8, p. 89-97; ID., "Studia nad kulturą pasterską w Karpatach północnych: Typologia wędrówek pasterskich od XIV do XX wieku", *ibid.*, pp. 98-121; T. TRAJDOS, "Początki osadnictwa Wołochów na Rusi Czerwonej", in: *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, ed. J. CZAJKOWSKI, 2 vols. (Rzeszów, 1992), 1, pp. 199-210; G. JAWOR, "Etniczne oblicze osad prawa wołoskiego na przedpolu Karpat w Małopolsce i Rusi Czerwonej (XIV-XV w.)", in: *Początki sąsiedztwa: Pogranicze etniczne polsko-rusko-słowackie w średniowieczu*, ed. M. PARCZEWSKI and S. CZOPEK (Rzeszów, 1996), pp. 301-306; ID., *Osady prawa wołoskiego i ich mieszkańcy na Rusi Czerwonej w późnym średniowieczu* (Lublin, 2000); ID., "Migracje wołoskie w Europie Środkowej w późnym średniowieczu i u progu epoki nowożytnej", in: *Wędrówka i etnogeneza*, pp. 337-354.

thirteenth century.[6] The trade centres on the Black Sea are the places from which the Karaims, representing the Turkish peoples, came.[7]

As a result of late medieval social and economic modernisation and these colonising migrations, a new society appeared in Red Ruthenia, which was composed of various ethnic groups, cultures, and religions. It consisted of the autochthonic substrate of the Eastern Slavic Ruthenian Orthodox population speaking Old Ukrainian, belonging to the Greek-Byzantine cultural circle, and the alien groups which came from various cultural zones. Genetically these were Western Slavic people (the Poles), Germanic people (the Germans), Jewish people, Romanians (the Walachians), Armenians, and Turkish people (the Tatars and the Karaims). The enigmatic community of Saracens existed in Lviv (Lemberg, Lwów) and nowhere else in Ruthenia; probably they were Arabs.[8] Religiously all of these people comprised either the Christian confession (the Catholics, the Orthodox, the Georgians); Judaism (the Rabbinic and non-Talmudic faction); or Islam. Linguistically, they spoke Polish; German, and its dialectical version, Yiddish; Old Romanian (belonging to the group of Romance languages); the Kipchak language and other Turkish dialects. In the liturgy they also used a variety of languages: Latin, Church Slavic, Armenian, Hebrew, and Arabic. Different scripts were used by these groups according to their religions; faith and alphabet were inseparably linked. The migrants moving to the towns did not create a uniform community. The ethnic groups settling there retained their separate characters.[9] Ethnic features and the sense of

[6] Ya. DACHKÉVYTCH, "L'établissement des Arméniens en Ukraine pendant les XIe-XVIIIe siècles", *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, n.s. 5 (1968), pp. 329-367; K. STOPKA, "Migracje a przemiany tożsamości ormiańskiej w średniowiecznej Europie Wschodniej", in: *Wędrówka i etnogeneza*, p. 355-365.

[7] Ja. STEPANIV [DAŠKEVYČ], "L'époque de Danylo Romanovyč (milieu du XIIIe siècle) d'après une source karaïte", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2.3 (1978), pp. 334-373; A. DUBIŃSKI, *Caraimica: Prace karaimoznawcze* (Warsaw, 1994); G. PEŁCZYŃSKI, *Najmniejsza mniejszość: Rzecz o Karaimach polskich* (Warsaw, 1995); J. TYSZKIEWICZ, "Karaimi na Rusi i Litwie do 1388 roku", *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 3-4 (1999), pp. 177-186; T. HARVIAINEN, "The Karaites in eastern Europe and the Crimea: An overview", in: *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to Its History and Literary Sources*, ed. M. POLLIACK (Leiden, 2003), pp. 633-655. Cf. also n. 29.

[8] Ja. DAŠKEVYČ, "Saraceny – taemnyčyj narod seredn'ovičnoï Ukraïny (džerela ta ïchnja interpretacija)", *Ukraïnskyj archeeografičnyj ščoričnyk*, n.s. 13-14 (2009), pp. 7-37.

[9] Ch. VON WERDT, "Halyč-Wolhynien – Rotreußen – Galizien: Im Überlappungsgebiet der Kulturen und Völker", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 46.1 (1998), pp. 69-99; Th. WÜNSCH, "Ostsiedlung in Rotrußland vom 14.-16. Jahrhundert – Problemaufriß für die kulturgeschichtliche Erforschung eines Transformationsprozesses in Ostmitteleuropa (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der terra Halicz)", *Österreichische Osthefte* 41.1 (1999), pp. 47-82; A. JANECZEK, "Ethnische Gruppenbildungen im spätmittelalterlichen Polen", in: *Das Reich und Polen:*

group identity were even strengthened and solidified due to the different social and legal status of the non-Catholic groups, which were not fully included in the organisation and jurisdiction according to the Saxon-Magdeburg law.

The main factor segregating the urban communities into groups was religion.[10] The shape of the inter-ethnic relations within the system created in Red Ruthenia was determined by the lack or presence of a religious barrier between the ethnic groups making up of society as a whole. It is worthwhile to remember that until the Reformation, Ruthenia was the only area of the Polish Kingdom settled densely by a non-Catholic population. The commonality or difference in faith was perceived with particular acuteness. Religion clearly dominated the other major identifying features of language, customs, and tradition.

The linguistic barrier did not hinder intergroup relations (this is exemplified by the Polonisation of the Germans); on the other hand, similarity of language did not determine integration (the Ruthenians and Poles, for instance, spoke languages of the same Slavic family, but did not integrate). It did not even aid in its initiation (e.g., for the Germans and the Jews, or for the Armenians, Karaims, and Tatars using similar dialects of Kipchak language). Belonging to the same language community and facility of verbal communication did not determine the intensity of intergroup contacts.

Ethnic affiliations, too, were not as important as religious ones. Ethnic differences did not hinder acculturation (as can be seen from the example of the Ruthenised Walachians). On the other hand, ethnic affiliation did not ease acculturation either (e.g., for the Poles and Ruthenians, or the Tatars and Karaims, who are both Turkish peoples).

*Parallellen, Interaktionen und Formen der Akkulturation im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, ed. Th. WÜNSCH and A. PATSCHOWSKY (Ostfildern, 2003: *Vorträge und Forschungen* 59), pp. 401-446; J. KROCHMAL, "Ethnic and religious integration and segregation in Przemyśl, 1350-1600", in: *On the Frontier of Latin Europe: Integration and Segregation in Red Ruthenia, 1350-1600*, ed. Th. WÜNSCH and A. JANECZEK (Warsaw, 2004), pp. 193-210; M. KAPRAL, "Legal regulation and national (ethnic) differentiation in Lviv, 1350-1600", *ibid.*, pp. 211-228; J. MOTYLEWICZ, "Ethnic communities in the towns of the Polish-Ukrainian borderland in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries", in: *Galicia: A Multicultured Land*, ed. Ch. HANN and P. MAGOCSI (Toronto, 2005), pp. 36-51; O. KOZUBSKA-ANDRUSIV, "'*... propter disparitatem linguae et religionis pares ipsi non esse*': Minority communities in medieval and early modern Lviv", in: *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. D. KEENE, B. NAGY, and K. SZENDE (Farnham, 2009), pp. 51-66.

[10] A. JANECZEK, "Ethnicity, religious disparity and the formation of the multicultural society of Red Ruthenia in the late Middle Ages", in: *On the Frontier of Latin Europe*, pp. 15-45.

In short, it was neither the language nor the anthroponymic system, and neither the ethnic bonds nor the group law (unless made sacral and connected with religion), which constituted the critical values. The core value was religion and attributes of the culture which were the most closely connected with religion.

The complex societies of the towns of Red Ruthenia were organised into separate religious-legal communities. The dominant one was the Catholic community, representing the category of burghers with full rights (*cives*). It was made up of Germans and Poles, with the admixture of a few Italians, Frenchmen, Hungarians, and Czechs. The Orthodox community (*communitas Ruthenorum*) consisted of the Ruthenians and a few Greeks, Walachians, and Moldavians. The other religious-legal communities were mono-ethnic. These were the Armenians (*communitas Armenorum*), Jews (*communitas Iudeorum*), and the few Karaims and Tatars.

The order in which these groups are mentioned reflects a hierarchy with three thresholds of access to urban status: the Catholics, enjoying full rights; the discriminated non-Catholic Christians (that is, the Ruthenians and Armenians); and the excluded non-Christians (especially the Jews).

In the Catholic community there were two rivalling vernaculars: German (more precisely, East Middle German)[11] and Polish. Initially, German dominated, but not because it had a greater number of speakers. That was the case only in Lviv and several towns at the western fringe of Red Ruthenia. In these towns, German prevailed over Polish in the public domain of the town, in the offices and courts; it was also used in writing. Town registers were conducted in Latin and German; they were used simultaneously, even in a single record, written in vernacularised Latin or Latinised vernacular. This coexistence,

[11] On local variants of German used in Central-European towns, organised *iure Theuthonico* and inhabited by German-speaking colonists, see M. KAWCZYŃSKI, *Badania nad językiem zapisków niemieckich z czternastego wieku, ogłoszonych w najstarszych księgach i rachunkach miasta Krakowa* (Cracow, 1883); J. WIKTOROWICZ, *System fonologiczny języka niemieckiego ksiąg miejskich Krakowa w XIV wieku* (Warsaw, 1981); H. ANDERS, *Das Posener Deutsch im Mittelalter* (Wilno, 1938); Z. MASAŘÍK, *Die mittelalterliche deutsche Kanzleisprache Süd- und Mittelmährens* (Brno, 1966); I. TEN VENNE, "Stadtsprache oder Stadtsprachen: zur Sprachlichkeit Danzigs im späten Mittelalter", *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 121 (1998), p. 59-84; A. VIZKELETY, "Die deutsche Sprache und das deutsche Schrifttum im ungarischen Mittelalter", in: *The Development of Literate Mentalities*, pp. 277-287; R.G. PÄSLER, "Zur Sprachensituation im Deutschordensland Preussen: Ein Problemaufriss", in: *Ostmitteldeutsche Schreibsprachen im Spätmittelalter*, ed. L. CZAJKOWSKI, C. HOFFMANN, and H.U. SCHMID (Berlin, 2007: *Studia linguistica Germanica* 89), pp. 93-107.

interpenetration, and switching from one to the other is typical for fifteenth-century writing. However, Latin was valued more highly as noble and universal. In 1483, the jury of Lviv prioritised Latin at the cost of German:

> as Latin is the most noble idiom, it ought to be used both in this city and all over the Kingdom and Poland, in well-nigh all cities, towns and villages enjoying German law. This idiom is dominant in the whole of Christendom and has its place in the whole world.
>
> *cum Latinum idioma nobilissimum et hic in civitate et per totum regnum Polonie in permultis fere civitatibus, opidis et villis iure Theuthonico gaudentibus agi soleat. Quiddam idioma in tota Christianitate dominatur ac in tota orbe terrarum locum habet.*[12]

At the turn of the fifteenth century, German was replaced in the records by Latin rather than by Polish. Polish entered into usage as an official language of town record-keeping only in the mid-sixteenth century, at first only occasionally and mainly in smaller towns. In chanceries of large centres, such as Lviv, Przemyśl, or Przeworsk, Latin still dominated.

The withdrawal of German was caused by demographic and cultural processes: the gradual decline of German immigration and the Polonisation of the families which had arrived earlier. The stages of this process are well illustrated by the changes of the language in which the sermons in Lviv cathedral were delivered. In the fifteenth century they were delivered simultaneously in German and Polish from two separate pulpits, but in the early sixteenth century the German preacher ceased functioning.[13] In Przemyśl the cathedral chapter required that a candidate for canonry ought to possess knowledge of German and sermonise in it, but this condition was cancelled in 1460.[14] Likewise, the exclusion of German from town books was also a sign of Polonisation, even if German was supplanted by Latin.[15]

[12] Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, fond 52.2, nr 222, p. 428.

[13] J. SKOCZEK, "Kwestia języka kazań lwowskich w w. XIII-XVI", *Przegląd Teologiczny* 7.4 (1927), p. 337-377. The Polonisation of burgesses similarly manifested itself in Cracow, where from 1537 onwards sermons in German were no longer preached in the main parish church.

[14] *Statuta capituli Premisliensis 1452-1533*, ed. as "Analecta ad historiam iuris canonici in dioecesi Premisliensi", ed. B. ULANOWSKI, in: *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, 5 (Cracow, 1889), pp. 394-395.

[15] On different developments in Bohemia and the career of Czech language see E. SKALÁ, "Die Stadtbücher in Böhmen bis 1526 und die beteiligten Sprachen", in: *Stadtbücher als namenkundliche Quelle: Vorträge des Kolloquiums vom 18.-20. September 1998*, ed. F. DEBUS (Mainz

German disappeared from town registration, but it remained in use in some domains. The town council of Lviv still demanded in 1522 that the town notary be fluent in German. The contract provided that he "is furthermore obliged to translate writings in German books into Latin, and similarly to render letters sent in German" ("*obligatus est insuper scripta in libris Almanicis transferre in Latinum et litteras missiles Almanicas similiter interpretari*").[16] In cathedral schools in Lviv, German was taught at least until the second half of the sixteenth century; as late as 1565 funding was assigned to "a German *baccalaureus* for teaching the lay youth in arithmetics and in the German language" ("*baccaleureo Theutono ad erudiendum iuventutem civilem in arithmetica et linguagio Almano*").[17]

The Ruthenians used the Ruthenian (Old Ukrainian) language and Church Slavonic for liturgical purposes.[18] After the fall of the Halich-Volhynian princedom, the Ruthenian language was still used in public life despite the political changes. Initially, Ruthenian was used equally with Latin in documents issued by the king and the local officials.[19] The codes of Polish law were translated into Ruthenian.[20] Ruthenian was not used, however, in those institutions which were new in Red Ruthenia: the court system that was reorganised according to Polish principles after 1433; the institutions of the nobles' self-government; and the city offices and chanceries. The Ruthenians did not create

and Stuttgart, 2000), p. 238-245.

[16] Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, fond 52.2, nr 704, p. 8.

[17] Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, fond 52.2, nr 1153, p. 437.

[18] This stage in the development of the Ukrainian language (*c.* 1400-1700) is usually defined as Middle Ruthenian (Middle Ukrainian); cf. M. MOSER, "Mittelruthenisch (Mittelweißrussisch und Mittelukrainisch): ein Überblick", *Studia Slavica Hungarica* 50.1-2 (2005), pp. 125-142.

[19] Linguistic analyses of documents written in Ruthenian (*gramoty*): W. KURASZKIEWICZ, "Gramoty halicko-wołyńskie XIV-XV wieku: Studium językowe", in: ID., *Ruthenica: Studia z historycznej i współczesnej dialektologii wschodniosłowiańskiej* (Warsaw, 1985), pp. 1-7; Ch.S. STANG, *Die westrussische Kanzleisprache des Grossfürstentums Litauen* (Oslo, 1935: *Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Historisk-filosofisk Klasse*, 1935, 2); ID., *Die altrussische Urkundensprache der Stadt Polozk* (Oslo, 1939: *Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Historisk-filosofisk Klasse*, 1938, 2).

[20] A. VETULANI and S. ROMAN, *Średniowieczny ruski przekład statutów ziemskich Kazimierza Wielkiego i Władysława Jagiełły* (Wrocław, 1950); S. ROMAN, "Przepisy prawa polskiego w rękopisie supraskim z początku XVI wieku", *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 17.1 (1965), pp. 75-101; A. WANDAS, *Język staroruskiego przekładu polskich statutów ziemskich Kazimierza Wielkiego i Władysława Jagiełły* (Wrocław, 1966); J. BARDACH, "Ruskie przekłady polskich statutów ziemskich XIV i początku XV w.", in: *Studia z dziejów państwa i prawa polskiego* 3 (Łódź, 1999), pp.7-24.

any forms of community self-government in towns, so as far as we know, and there were no municipal records in their language. The court procedures in which the Ruthenians took part, their statements of will, and their business transactions were all written down in the city books either in German or Latin.

The chanceries in large cities engaged Ruthenian scribes (*reussischer schreibir*, *notarius Ruthenicalis*, *Ruthenice scripture scriba*) as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century, but these officials did not make entries into the city registers. It seems that they were employed because their skill in reading the script was needed. The main obstacle for communication was not the language itself, which was understandable for anyone who could speak Polish, but the distinct alphabet, incomprehensible for anyone outside Ruthenian circles. When the court in Przemyśl was shown an old, important privilege written in Ruthenian from the time of the Halich princedom, a Ruthenian scribe was called in to read it *coram iudicio*, but a Latin translation was placed in the records. In the public sphere of the towns in Red Ruthenia, the written Ruthenian language did not function at all. It was limited to the internal, private, and religious life of the Orthodox community. This was a completely different situation from that of Lithuania, where the Ruthenian language dominated in the public sphere of the whole country.[21] Church Slavonic, created against the alien, Macedonian and Bulgarian background, was treated as 'own' by the Ruthenians, and was renowned as the sacred and apostolic language of liturgy and elevated literature, but it gradually fell into disuse.[22] From the sixteenth

[21] B. STRUMINS'KYJ, "The language question in the Ukrainian lands before the nineteenth century", in: *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, ed. R. PICCHIO and H. GOLDBLATT, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1984), 2, pp. 9-47; L. BEDNARCZUK, "La communauté linguistique du Grand Duché de Lituanie", *Linguistica Baltica* 2 (1993), pp. 5-13; H. ŁASZKIEWICZ, "Le Latin et le Ruthène face aux langues vernaculaires sur le territoire du Royaume de Pologne et du Grand-Duché de Lituanie aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles", in: *The Development of Literate Mentalities*, pp. 269-276; P.U. DINI, "Views on languages and polyglossia in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania according to Johannes Stobnica's *Epitoma Europe* (1512)", in: *Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Muscovy, Ruthenia and Lithuania in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. V.V. IVANOV and J. VERKHOLANTSEV (Moscow, 2005), pp. 36-43; Ch. SCHILLER, "Sprachgrenzen – Sprachen im Grenzraum: Sprachverhältnisse im Großfürstentum Litauen", in: *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich: der Osten und der Westen des mittellaterlichen Lateineuropa*, ed. K. HERBERS and N. JASPERS (Berlin, 2007: *Europa im Mittelalter* 7), pp. 280-289. On the coexistence of Church Slavic and chancery Russian in Muscovy, see Ch.J. HALPERIN, "The Russian and Slavonic languages in sixteenth-century Muscovy", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 85.1 (2007), pp. 1-24.

[22] R. PICCHIO, "Guidelines for a comparative study of the language question among the Slavs", in: *Aspects of the Slavic Language*, 1, pp. l-42.

century the so-called *prostaya mova* ('plain style') played a major role as a literary language. It was based on the Ruthenian chancery language, under the strong influence of Polish, the morphology and phonology of which were Ruthenised; the Cyrillic alphabet was used, but the syntax and the lexicon remained mainly Polish.[23]

The Armenian communities enjoyed autonomy in the towns established according to the Saxon-Magdeburg law. There were Armenian mayors (*advocatus*), courts, and colleges of elders. Their internal jurisdiction was based on the code of Armenian law from the twelfth century, which changed in the fifteenth century under the clear influence of German and Polish law.[24] The Armenians in the towns of the Horde, even before their migration to Red Ruthenia, underwent linguistic assimilation to the Turkish group. They used, both in speech and writing, the Kipchak language (belonging to the group of Turkish languages), which they themselves called *tatarça*. They wrote it, however, in the Armenian alphabet. They used the Armenian language (*grabar*), also called Church language, only in the liturgy and in learned texts. Papal nuncio Commendone observed in 1564 that Armenians living in Ruthenia

> have laws and songs about Divine things written in the Armenian language and in Armenian script, but apart from the priests only few understand them; everywhere they speak the Scythian and Turkish tongues.
>
> *leges carminaque divinarum rerum Armenicis scripta litteris ac lingua habent, sed ea praeter sacerdotes pauci intelligunt, vulgo ipsi Scythica et Turcica lingua loquuntur*.[25]

The records of the organs of Armenian autonomy (court records, acts of civil cases, pre-nuptial agreements, last wills), written in *tatarça* in Armenian letters, are known from as late as the sixteenth century.[26]

[23] M. Moser, "Čto takoe 'prostaya mova'?", *Studia Slavica Hungarica* 47.3-4 (2002), pp. 221-260; A. Danylenko, "On the name(s) of the prostaja mova in the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth", *Studia Slavica Hungarica* 51.1-2 (2006), pp. 97-121.

[24] K. Stopka, "Kultura religijna Ormian polskich (struktury i stosunki kościelno-publiczne)", in: *Animarum cultura*, 1, pp. 229-270.

[25] After G. Petrowicz, *La chiesa Armena in Polonia* (Roma, 1971), p. 143.

[26] E. Tryjarski, "Ze studiów nad rękopisami i dialektem kipczackim Ormian polskich", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 23.2 (1960), pp. 7-55; Y.R. Dachkévytch, "Who are Armeno-Kipchaks? On the ethnical substrate of the Armenian colonies in the Ukraine", *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, n.s. 16 (1982), pp. 357-416.

The Jewish communes shaped the forms of their community life within the *kehila* organisation. Besides the religious and self-help functions, as well as the representation of the community in contacts with other communes and the Christian world, the *kehila* self-government functioned as the lower court for cases between Jews and collected taxes.[27] Their separate legal status and exclusion from the city's organisational structures made the Jews a distinct state in Poland, low in the social hierarchy, discriminated against by the Church and the city authorities. Their isolation was determined by the Mosaic religion and the tradition, law, rituals, and customs connected with it, but not by the language they spoke: the Jews used Yiddish, a dialect formed on the basis of the Middle High German lexis.[28] They were perceived in medieval Poland as specific, non-Catholic compatriots of the Germans. The role of the *lingua sacra* was played by Hebrew, limited in its use. There are no medieval records connected with the operation of the Jewish communities in the Ruthenian towns except for the fragments of rabbinical responses.

The remaining religious-legal communities which sporadically appeared in Ruthenian towns, the Karaims and Tatars, spoke the Kipchak language, similar to that used by the Armenians.[29] There are no written records made by these communities before modern times.

[27] H. ZAREMSKA, "Żydzi wobec chrześcijan w średniowiecznej Polsce", in: *Animarum cultura*, 1, pp.191-227.

[28] The origin of Yiddish is a matter of polemic. The traditional view is that Yiddish was born in Germanic-speaking territories (Rhineland, Bavaria) as a fusion of Middle High German with Hebrew, Aramaic, and Slavic languages and traces of Romance languages (Matthias Mieses, Max Weinreich); recently Paul Wexler have suggested that Yiddish belongs to the Slavic family of languages: it developed on the substrate of the Lusatian (Sorbian), and adopted some form of Middle High German (P. WEXLER, "Yiddish – The fifteenth Slavic language: A study of partial language shift from Judeo-Sorbian to German", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 91 (1991), pp. 9-150; ID., "Languages in contact: The case of Rotwelsch and the two 'Yiddishes'", in: *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, ed. R. PO-CHIA HSIA and H. LEHMANN (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 109-124. For an overview of the discussion, see E. GELLER, "Spory o genezę języka jidysz", in: *Jidyszland: Polskie przestrzenie*, ed. E. GELLER and M. POLIT (Warsaw, 2008), pp. 17-43.

[29] O. PRITSAK, "Das Karaimische", in: *Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta*, 1, ed. J. DENY *et al*. (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 318-340; A. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, *Karaims in Poland: History, Language, Folklore, Science* (Warsaw, 1961); S. SZYSZMAN, *Le Karaïsme: Ses doctrines et son histoire* (Lausanne, 1980); German edition: ID., *Das Karäertum: Lehre und Geschichte* (Vienna, 1983); J. TYSZKIEWICZ, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce: Studia z dziejów XIII-XVIII w.* (Warsaw, 1989), pp. 150 ff.; S. GĄSIOROWSKI, *Karaimi w Koronie i na Litwie w XV-XVIII wieku* (Cracow and Budapest, 2008); D. SHAPIRA, "The Turkic languages and literatures of the east European Karaites", in: *Karaite Judaism*, pp. 657-708.

The language mix was quite complex in the towns of Red Ruthenia. Five vernaculars were used; four languages of prestige, each relating to a different cultural circle; and four separate alphabets. This is quite a lot, especially as the towns were relatively small. Their populations might have approached 10,000 inhabitants, but the most numerous were small towns numbering only several hundred people.

This leads to the question as to how people communicated in such linguistically diversified urban communities. To some extent it must have been facilitated by the similarities of two pairs of languages: Polish and Ruthenian, and German and Yiddish. However, whereas Polish and Ruthenian were easily understandable to users of either language (in speech, of course – not in writing), this is rather uncertain for German and Yiddish. To a limited degree Latin may have played the part of an intermediary between the Polish and German groups, not only as the language of religion but also of law and learning. The Armenians had no linguistic links with the other groups, except for the few Karaims and Tatars. This is probably the reason why the Armenians strongly developed the skill of communicating in many languages. They played the role of translators, were used in diplomatic missions, and served as city interpreters in Lviv (*interpres civitatis*, *der stat tolmacz*).[30] In the Slavic languages the word for 'interpreter' itself (*tłumacz*, *tolmač*) – the origin of the German *Dolmetsch*, *Dolmetscher* – derived from the Turkish language repository; perhaps it was taken from the Kipchak language.[31] The office of city interpreter functioned in Lviv from the fourteenth through eighteenth centuries.

The domination of Armenians among city interpreters was grounded in their linguistic competence and knowledge of the Kipchak language – which was a *lingua franca* in the Tatar Empire and lands of the Golden Horde – as

[30] A. JANECZEK, "Tłumacz lwowski: Z zagadnień komunikacji językowej w wieloetnicznym mieście późnego średniowiecza", in: *Gospodarka, społeczeństwo, kultura w dziejach nowożytnych: Studia ofiarowane Pani Profesor Marii Boguckiej*, ed. A. KARPIŃSKI, E. OPALIŃSKI, and T. WIŚLICZ (Warsaw, 2010), pp. 203-222.

[31] *Tilmač ~ tilmeč*, 'interpreter', from the root *til ~ tīl*, 'tongue' in both meanings, as an instrument of speech and language. Cf. M. VASMER, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols. (Heidelberg, 1950-1958), 3, s.v., and comments by O.N. TRUBAČEV in the Russian edition, *Etimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*, 4 vols. (Moscow, 1986-1987), 4, s.v.; J. NÉMETH, "Zur Geschichte des Wortes *tolmács* 'Dolmetscher'", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 8.1 (1958), pp. 1-8; V. HONEMANN and G. ROTH, "Dolmetscher und Dolmetschen im Mittelalter", in: *Germanistik genießen: Gedenkschrift für Doc. Dr phil. Hildegarda Boková*, ed. H. ANDRÁŠOVÁ, P. ERNST, and L. SPÁČILOVÁ (Vienna, 2006: *Schriften zur diachronen Sprachwissenschaft* 15), pp. 77-142.

well as in their aptitude for learning local vernaculars during migrations and their stays in towns, where they always formed a minority group.[32] Studying the occasionally occurring traces of the city interpreters' activities in city records, we could come to the conclusion that rather than mediating between different ethnic groups of urban communes, or between city dwellers and city officials, they facilitated communication with aliens from outside the city, mainly with merchants arriving from various provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Even in situations that would have required a great deal of linguistic competence, such as a trial between sides belonging to different communities (Jewish, Armenian, or Ruthenian), a city interpreter is nowhere to be found, though sources of Magdeburg law, from the *Saxon Mirror* onwards, contain the principle that the perpetrator would be using his own language before the court ("everybody accused may refuse to answer unless he is accused in his native tongue").[33] Although not numerous, there are known cases of employing and admitting an interpreter to participate in court or official actions concerning strangers from the Orient.

It is the phenomenon of widespread multilingualism which may provide the answer to questions about how intergroup communication worked in these culturally complex societies. Red Ruthenia, as a wide ethnic and cultural frontier area, was a place where multilingualism developed naturally, and where languages came into contact and influenced one another.[34] The language inter-

[32] On the linguistic situation in the Pontic steppes, see I. VÁSÁRY, "Oriental languages of the Codex Cumanicus: Persian and Cuman as *linguae francae* in the Black Sea region (13th-14th centuries)", in: ID., *Turks, Tatars and Russians in the 13th-16th Centuries* (Aldershot, 2007), XIII, pp. 105 ff.

[33] "*... Sprache, de im an geboren iz*" (H. GLÜCK, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Europa vom Mittelalter bis zur Barockzeit* (Berlin, 2002), pp. 58 ff.). The illuminations of the *Sachsenspiegel* show court scenes with interpreters participating in the proceedings.

[34] Cf. for Bohemian and Hungarian parallels: V. BŮŽEK, "Zum tschechisch-deutschen Bilinguismus in den böhmischen und österreichischen Ländern in der frühen Neuzeit", *Österreichische Osthefte* 35.4 (1993), pp. 577-589; I. HLAVÁČEK, "Dreisprachigkeit im Bereich der Böhmischen Krone: Zum Phänomen der Sprachbenutzung im böhmischen diplomatischen Material bis zur hussitischen Revolution", in: *The Development of Literate Mentalities*, pp. 289-310; A. KUBINYI, "Ethnische Minderheiten in den ungarischen Städten des Mittelalters", in: *Städtische Randgruppen und Minderheiten*, ed. B. KIRCHGÄSSNER (Sigmaringen, 1986), pp. 183-199; J.M. BAK, "'Linguistic pluralism' in medieval Hungary", in: *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L.T. Bethell*, ed. M.A. MEYER (London, 1993), pp. 269-279; ID., "A kingdom of many languages: The case of medieval Hungary", in: *Forms of Identity: Definitions and Changes*, ed. L. LÖB, I. PETROVICS, and Gy.E. SZŐNYI (Szeged, 1994), pp. 45-55; K. SZENDE, "Integration through language: The multilingual character of late medieval Hungarian towns", in: *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation*, pp. 205-233.

ferences resulted in numerous lexical borrowings between Polish and German; Armeno-Kipchak and Ruthenian; Armeno-Kipchak and Polish; and Yiddish, Polish and Ruthenian. This interaction even led to the formation, under that mutual influence, of regional variants of the Polish, Ruthenian, and Armeno-Kipchak languages with their own syntactic, phonetic, and morphological features.[35] The systems of personal names also influenced one another. This can be seen clearly by the influence of Slavic personal names on Armenian and Jewish ones.[36] In towns the frontier features were intensified. Here, intergroup contacts took place on a daily basis, at every opportunity, unintentionally, under conditions of close spatial neighbourhoods and physical proximity.[37]

The towns, as it seems, were efficient laboratories of transcultural communication.[38] They formed a milieu characterised by density and proximity, where heterogenous cultures coexisted, competed, and mingled. This is a paradox, because at the same time the towns strengthened the religious-ethnic divisions, maintaining the organisation of legal and spatial segregation as well as social inequality with regard to access to power, prestige, and income. Red Ruthenian towns in the late Middle Ages retained a system of discrimination against non-Catholic communities and exclusion of non-Christian groups. The living accul-

[35] A. MARTEL, *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes: Ukraïne et Russie Blanche 1569-1667* (Lille, 1938); S. URBAŃCZYK, "Die sprachliche Situation in Polen im 16. Jahrhundert", in: *Fragen der polnischen Kultur im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. R. OLESCH and H. ROTHE (Giessen, 1980), pp. 157-171; M. ŁESIÓW, "The Polish and Ukrainian languages: A mutually beneficent relationship", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22 (1998), pp. 393-406; H. WIŚNIEWSKA, *Język polski na ziemiach ruskiej i lubelskiej w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej XVI-XVIII w.* (Lublin, 2001).

[36] The adaptation of gentile personal names by Jews is also noticeable in medieval Bohemia: O. MUNELES, "Zur Namengebung der Juden in Böhmen", *Judaica Bohemiae* 2 (1966), pp. 3-13; F. ŠMAHEL, "Die Prager Judengemeinde im hussitischen Zeitalter (1389-1485)", in: *Jüdische Gemeinden und ihr christlicher Kontext*, pp. 341-363, at p. 349.

[37] Michael Richter highlighted that medieval urbanisation increased the number of people familiar with more than one language (he analysed examples from fourteenth-century England and Poland), M. RICHTER, "Monolingualism and multilingualism in the 14th century", in: ID., *Studies in Medieval Language and Culture* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 77-85.

[38] The role of towns and cities as culmination points of communication and centres of literacy is emphasised in the scholarly literature. See, e.g. A. ZIEGLER, *Städtische Kommunikationspraxis im Spätmittelalter: Historische Soziopragmatik und historische Textlinguistik* (Berlin, 2003: *Germanistische Arbeiten zur Sprachgeschichte* 2), pp. 79 ff. The author examined urban documentary production in Preßburg / Bratislava until 1500; a similar survey of early modern Leutschau / Levoča in Spiš: J. MEIER, *Städtische Kommunikation in der frühen Neuzeit: Historische Soziopragmatik und historische Textlinguistik* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004: *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte* 2).

turation, especially in the sphere of language, was not accompanied by equally intensive structural assimilation and its final product: social integration; this took place independently and on a much smaller scale. Reciprocal linguistic borrowings and eager exchange reflects intense contact between ethnic and religious communities, but it did not help them to avoid segregation. A mutual understanding reflects developed linguistic competence possessed by townspeople and widespread oral multilingualism, but did not result in shortening inter-ethnic distance. Communities and languages may cohabit and interact with each other, but the religious / ethnic factor remains among the most potent determinants of social order in towns. The hierarchy of faith categories (*catholici – scismatici – Iudei*), inequality of status, and group stratification are mirrored in the inequality and hierarchy of languages. There is a clear reference to this in how forcibly the town council of Lviv declared in 1578 before the king that "the Armenians are not equal to us because of the difference in language and religion" ("*Armenos propter disparitatem linguae et religionis pares ipsis non esse*").[39] Relations between ethnic and religious groups determine relations between languages.[40] As the *natio Catholica* dominated the urban commune, so did two vernaculars, German and later Polish, dominate communication in town.

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It was, first and foremost, members of minority groups who inevitably had to master major town speech that was foreign to them; this was especially true for those living in a diaspora, like Armenians and Jews. It seems that minority status played an important role in building the network of linguistic linkages. Minority groups had to make efforts to establish language contacts with the majority and sustain communication in complex, ethnically heterogenous soci-

[39] F. BISCHOFF, *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Armenier in Lemberg* (Vienna, 1864), nr 40.

[40] On the position of the languages in 'post-colonial', ethnically mixed towns in Central and Eastern Europe see J. DORUĽA, "Používanie slovenského jazyka v mestách v 15.-18 storočí", in: *Národnostný vývoj miest na Slovensku do roku 1918*, ed. M. MARSINA (Martin, 1984), pp. 163-173; H. JORDÁNKOVA and L. SULITKOVÁ, "Etnická příslušnost a jazyková komunikace obywatel Brna ve středověku a raném novověku", in: *Národnostní skupiny, menšiny a cizinci ve městech* (Prague 2001: *Documenta Pragensia* 19), pp. 37-57; T. KALA, "Languages in a medieval North European city: An example from medieval Tallinn", in: *Frontiers in the Middle Ages*, ed. O. MERISALO (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2006: *Textes et études du Moyen Âge* 35), pp. 587-603.

eties. This inevitably concerns the Poles and Germans as well, in times when their respective vernaculars gradually reversed themselves in their position as the primary language in town.

# Non-German Literacy in Medieval Livonia*

ANTI SELART

Even those with only the slightest familiarity with the history of medieval Livonia – the territory corresponding approximately to modern Estonia and Latvia[1] – are aware of the fact that the local medieval and early modern population was split into Germans (*deutsch*) and non-Germans (*un-deutsch*). The Germans were of a higher status and numerically a minority. The term 'non-Germans', as a rule, was used to denote people speaking local indigenous languages (Finnic Estonians and Livs, Baltic Latvians), the prevailing majority of whom comprised the peasants. Other ethnic groups, except for the more numerous Swedes who settled on the shores and coastal towns of Estonia, did not play a significant role in Livonia.[2] The non-Germans, however, also

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[1] See the map at p. xiii.

[2] See H. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, "Deutsch und Undeutsch als historiographisches Problem", in: *Zwischen Konfrontation und Kompromiss*, ed. M. GARLEFF (Munich, 1995: *Schriften des Bundesinstituts für ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte* 8), pp. 185-195; J. HACKMANN, "Ethnos oder Region? Probleme der baltischen Historiographie im 20. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 50 (2001), pp. 531-556. The recent paper by T. KALA, "Gab es eine 'nationale Frage' im mittelalterlichen Reval?", *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 7 (2012), pp. 10-34 argues convincingly that in medieval sources of Tallinn the ethnic designation of

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 37-63.

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lived in towns. The ratio between the German and non-German population could differ among the various towns of Livonia. With regard to Riga (10,000-15,000 inhabitants), the proportion was approximately 2/3 Germans to 1/3 non-Germans, according to a general estimation.[3] In Tallinn (pop. 7000-8000), the percentage of non-Germans (Estonians) could have exceeded 50 percent; in addition, there was a numerous group of Swedes among the local population.[4] In the case of Tartu (pop. 4000-6000), with its more inland location, it is probably possible to talk about a weaker connection with the German immigration areas and hence about the supposedly more relevant role of non-Germans than in the harbour towns.[5] Concerning smaller towns, estimations regarding the share of German and non-German segments of the population have been contradictory. As a rule, the assumption has been made that the Germans were prevalent.[6] Yet the Narva town council, for instance, wrote in 1530 that there were only 30 Germans and 120 non-Germans (heads of families) in the town.[7] Moreover, all these estimations refer to the very end of the Middle Ages and do not reflect the gradual changes that occurred over the course of time.

Medieval Livonia and the town life of the region were formed as a result of the Baltic crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Most of the crusaders, clergy, noble settlers, and urban immigrants came from northern Germany. There was no immigration of German peasants into this region during the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century. The coexistence of the 'German' and 'non-German' groups was the framework within which the first words and texts in local languages were written down. This paper aims to provide a general investigation of social and ethnic aspects of the history of non-Germans in Livonia, within the wider context of the relationship between Germans and other ethnic groups in Central and Eastern European towns in the late Middle Ages and the sixteenth century. This perspective allows presenting the emer-

persons is rather unfrequent and the term 'non-German' was predominantly used only for rural, not urban Estonians.

[3] F. BENNINGHOVEN, *Rigas Entstehung und der frühhansische Kaufmann* (Hamburg, 1961: *Nord- und osteuropäische Geschichtsstudien* 3), p. 102.

[4] J. KIVIMÄE, "Tallinn ja Hansa: Ühe ajaloolise struktuuri piirjooni", *Looming* 3 (1988), pp. 376-387, at p. 378.

[5] E. TARVEL, "Elanikkond", in: *Tartu ajalugu*, ed. R. PULLAT (Tallinn, 1980), pp. 50-52.

[6] I. PÕLTSAM, "Das Alltagsleben in den Kleinstädten Estlands im Mittelalter", in: *Städtisches Leben im Baltikum zur Zeit der Hanse: Zwölf Beiträge zum 12. Baltischen Seminar*, ed. N. ANGERMANN (Lüneburg, 2003: *Baltische Seminare* 10), pp. 157-175, at pp. 163-164.

[7] A. SÜVALEP, *Narva ajalugu*, 1, *Taani- ja orduaeg* (Narva, 1936), pp. 274-275.

gence of the Estonian, Livic, and Latvian written word in the context of the diverse social roles of these languages.

The opposition 'German' – 'non-German' was not solely an ethnic one. Through this distinction, ethnic and social distribution has been combined in a manner which, in the Estonian language, is expressed by a pair of words, *sakslane* ('German') and *saks* ('master', 'noble'), both etymologically derived from 'Saxons'.[8] This phenomenon has repeatedly been underlined in historiography. Nevertheless, the ethnic aspect has prevailed in the relevant treatments. In the Baltic context it is thus essential to keep in mind the complicated national and social relationships during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the Estonian and Latvian nations emancipated and established themselves in opposition to the privileged Baltic Germans. The opposition of these times – German manorial lord versus Estonian / Latvian peasant – is to this day still reflected in the history-related consciousness in which Estonians and Latvians do not associate the 'we' of their past solely with an ethnic group, but also with belonging to a socially lower class, which was reputedly discriminated against not only economically and legally, but in cultural life as well. For instance, the Latvian archaeologist Ēvalds Mugurēvičs emphasises in a very self-confident way:

> In the Middle Ages, then, in the territory of Latvia, two opposite cultures can be traced: that of the east Baltic peoples and that of the Germans. The former ... was maintained by the peasants ... . The latter was represented by small minority – German feudal lords and the clergy and town-dwellers ... . The two cultures were separated by deep class and national differences. Due to the enormous vitality and force of its resistance, Latvian culture was able to preserve its individuality throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, although its development was held back for centuries.[9]

[8] The word *saks* acquired its ironic nuance only in the twentieth century.

[9] Ē. MUGURĒVIČS, "Interactions between indigenous and western culture in Livonia in the 13th to 16th centuries", in: *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology*, ed. D. AUSTIN and L. ALCOCK (London, 1990), pp. 168-178, at p. 177. Cf. Ē. MUGURĒVIČS, "Aspekte der Kulturkommunikation anhand archäologischer Funde im baltischen Raum", in: *Kommunikation und Alltag in spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. H. HUNDSBICHLER (Vienna, 1992: *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit* 15 = *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 596), pp. 441-458, at p. 456. See also I. ŠTERNS, "Latvieši un krievi viduslaiku Rīgā", *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls* 2 (1996), pp. 22-54; A. ŠNĒ, "Multicoloured culture: Coexistence of the local and the Western in the territory of Latvia during the Middle Ages", *Interarchaeologia* 2 (2007), pp. 139-154.

Another origin of the dominant confrontation between 'German' and 'non-German' in modern historival writing can be considered to be the strongly Protestant tradition of Livonian historiography. It has always underlined the superficiality of the level of Christianisation regarding the peasantry baptised as a result of the ('German') crusades. At the same time, in reality the religion of the peasants might not have been in confrontation with 'pure' Catholicism. In this context, it is noteworthy that in keeping with written and archaeological data, the religion of urban 'non-Germans' during the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries was actually not any different from that of the 'Germans'.[10] The mechanisms of social control operating in towns must have therefore been more ecclesiastical, as the people from the countryside coming to live in towns were quickly integrated into the Catholic town culture. Towns were the places where ethnic groups interacted most vividly, and where the majority of the preserved relevant sources were produced.

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Robert Bartlett writes, in the context of Eastern Europe, about the "intensification of racial feeling in the later Middle Ages" and "the growth of a new biological racism" during the late Middle Ages.[11] He also notes that

> it is worth stressing at the outset that, while the language of race – *gens*, *natio*, 'blood', 'stock', etc. – is biological, its medieval reality was almost entirely cultural. ... To a point, therefore, medieval ethnicity was a social construct rather than a biological datum.[12]

[10] L. ARBUSOW, "Kirchliches Leben der rigaschen Losträger im 15. Jahrhundert", *Latvijas Universitates Raksti* 6 (1923), pp. 185-224; P. JOHANSEN and H. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Cologne, 1973: *Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* 15), pp. 332-343; H. VALK, "Artefacts in Estonian urban churchyards: Reflections on different traditions and ideologies", in: *Der Ostseeraum und Kontinentaleuropa 1100-1600: Einflußnahme – Rezeption – Wandel*, ed. D. KATTINGER *et al.* (Schwerin, 2004: *Culture Clash or Compromise* 8), pp. 103-112.

[11] R. BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (London, 1994), p. 237. Cf. ID., "Medieval and modern concepts of race and ethnicity", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001), pp. 39-56.

[12] BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, p. 197. Cf. B.-U. HERGEMÖLLER, "Randgruppen der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft: Wege und Ziele der Forschung", in: *Randgruppen der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft*, ed. B.-U. HERGEMÖLLER (Warendorf, 2001), pp. 1-57, at p. 8.

'Nation' was at the same time also a legal community, being a part of which was not necessarily connected with ethnic origin.[13] In some regions of Eastern Europe, the confessional aspect accrued to the legal one, as, e.g., in the frontier area of Rus', Poland, and Hungary.[14] In the eastern part of Europe, where groupings with different legal status also frequently spoke different languages, observations have been made that ethnic identity was more acutely highlighted during the Middle Ages, and that the development of national identity was an issue as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[15] The situation in which social groupings spoke different languages and associated themselves with ancestors of different origin does indeed provide a special com-

[13] See W. ZORN, "Deutsche und Undeutsche in der städtischen Rechtsordnung des Mittelalters in Ost-Mitteleuropa", *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 1 (1952), pp. 182-194; H.K. SCHULZE, "*Slavica lingua penitus intermissa*: Zum Verbot des Wendischen als Gerichtssprache", in: *Europa slavica – Europa orientalis: Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. K.-D. GROTHUSEN and K. ZERNACK (Berlin, 1980: *Gießener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens* 100), pp. 354-367; W. SCHICH, "Zum Ausschluß der Wenden aus den Zünften nord- und ostdeutscher Städte im späten Mittelalter", in: *Nationale, ethnische Identitäten in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. A. CZACHAROWSKI (Toruń, 1994), pp. 31-51, at pp. 40-43; BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 217-220; Ch. LÜBKE, "Ethnische Gemeinschaften und ihr Platz in der Topographie mittelalterlicher Städte des östlichen Europas", in: *Mittelalterliche Häuser und Straßen in Mitteleuropa*, ed. M. FONT and M. SÁNDOR (Budapest, 2000: *Varia archaeologica Hungarica* 9), pp. 25-41.

[14] *On the frontier of Latin Europe: Integration and Segregation in Red Ruthenia, 1350-1600*, ed. Th. WÜNSCH and A. JANECZEK (Warsaw, 2004); *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. D. KEENE *et al.* (Farnham, 2009: *Historical Urban Studies Series*).

[15] About medieval ethnic or national consciousness in eastern and northern Europe, see P. GÖRLICH, *Zur Frage des Nationalbewußtseins in ostdeutschen Quellen des 12. bis 14. Jahrhunderts* (Marburg/Lahn, 1964: *Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Ost-Mitteleuropas* 66); R.Ch. SCHWINGES, "'Primäre' und 'sekundäre' Nation: Nationalbewußtsein und sozialer Wandel im mittelalterlichen Böhmen", in: *Europa slavica – Europa orientalis*, pp. 490-532; S. RUSSOCKI, "Medieval 'political nations' in Central Europe", *Quaestiones medii aevi* 4 (1991), pp. 71-86; *Mittelalterliche nationes – neuzeitliche Nationen: Probleme der Nationenbildung in Europa*, ed A. BUES and R. REXHEUSER (Wiesbaden, 1995: *Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau: Quellen und Studien* 2); *The Birth of Identities: Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. B.P. MCGUIRE (Copenhagen, 1996); T. NYBERG, "The Scandinavians and their national and religious identity", in: *Vita religiosa e identità politiche: Universalità e particolarismi nell'Europa der tardo medioevo*, ed. S. GENSINI (Pisa, 1998: *Fondazione Centro di studi sulla civiltà del tardo medioevo San Miniato: Collana di Studi e Richerche* 7), pp. 117-130; D. KATTINGER, "Identität und Integration im Ostseeraum im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter", in: *The European Frontier: Clashes und Compromises in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. STAECKER (Lund, 2004: *CCC Papers* 7 = *Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology* 33), pp. 115-126.

plexion to the circumstances. As Balthasar Russow (†1600), a Tallinn chronicler, wrote about the Livonia of the first half of the sixteenth century:

> And since this land had attracted many Germans, and since the Germans held the sovereignty and governance, they were held by the non-German people in such great honour and esteem that even the lowliest court-servant and artisan was called lord and Juncker. And it was a great disgrace and shame for a servant or travelling artisan to make a journey in this land by foot. ... And one would take it sorely amiss of any German, no matter how low his station, if he should pass by a lord's or noble's manor without stopping, for every German was received most amiably there and welcomed for the sake of his German language ... . Whenever a German committed some punishable offence, he was always dealt with more leniently on account of his German birth ... . Also, one was reluctant to assign them base and menial tasks, lest that disgrace the other Germans.[16]

Thus exclusion and ethnicity occur in interrelation, and references have been made to their role in the creation and development of ethnic self-consciousness within the areas of the Western Slavs, where social tensions were frequently expressed as ethnic ones.[17] At the same time, the situation in Scandinavia,[18]

[16] *The Chronicle of Balthasar Russow*, trans. J.C. SMITH, J. EICHHOFF, and W.L. URBAN (Madison, 1988: *Wisconsin Baltic Studies* 2), pp. 9-10 cf. *Johann Renner's Livländische Historien*, ed. R. HAUSMANN and K. HÖHLBAUM (Göttingen, 1876), p. 9. See also JOHANSEN and VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, pp. 317-318; R. SCHNEIDER, "Formen und Motive mittelalterlicher Sprachenpolitik", *Lectiones eruditorum extraneorum in faculatate philosophica Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis factae* 5 (1998), pp. 7-23.

[17] V. K. RONIN, "Славянское меньшиство в немецких городах XIII-XIV веков: статус и самосознание", in: *Город в средневековой цивилизаций Западной Европы*, 1, *Феномен средневекового урбанизма*, ed. A.A. SVANIDZE (Moscow, 1999), pp. 237-243, at p. 240. Cf. L. BELZYT, "Die Deutschen um 1500 in den Metropolen Prag, Ofen und Krakau", *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 46 (1997), pp. 45-62.

[18] See H. BEYER-THOMA, "Deutsche in Finnland während des Mittelalters", in: *Der finnische Meerbusen als Brennpunkt: Wandern und Wirken deutschsprachiger Menschen im europäischen Nordosten*, ed. R. SCHWEITZER and W. BASTMAN-BÜHNER (Helsinki, 1998: *Saksalaisen kulttuurin edistämissäätiön julkaisuja* 9), pp. 43-87; J.E. OLESEN, "Der Einfluß der Hanse auf die Gestaltung des Bürgertums in den skandinavischen Ländern im Spätmittelalter", in: *Die Rolle der Stadtgemeinden und bürgerlichen Genossenschaften im Hanseraum in der Entwicklung und Vermittlung des gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Gedankengutes im Spätmittelalter*, ed. J. TANDECKI (Toruń, 2000), pp. 133-148; M. KALLIOINEN, "Der deutsche Einfluß im mittelalterlichen Finnland", in: *Die Stadt im europäischen Nordosten: Kulturbeziehungen von der Ausbreitung des Lübischen Rechts bis zur Aufklärung*, ed. R. SCHWEITZER and W. BASTMAN-BÜHNER (Helsinki, 2001: *Aue-Säätiön julkaisuja* 12), pp. 75-81; J. WUBS-MROZEWICZ, "Interplay of identities: German settlers in late medieval Stockholm", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 29 (2004), pp. 53-67. Cf. M. LAMBERG, "Finns as aliens and

Bohemia,[19] or Poland[20] is not really comparable with that of eastern Germany or the Baltics, as in the former regions the German language was not the (only) language of the nobility and the court, and in Poland, for instance, the upper strata of town-dwellers sometimes became Polonised during the late Middle Ages as the prestige of the Polish language grew to be higher than that of German.[21]

As of the twelfth century, the 'German town' was introduced in the eastern part of Europe, i.e. a town with the legal order and a large share of citizens borrowed from the German areas. The population of local origin was included in the new towns during the foundation phase as well. A number of towns rapidly grew into significant economic centres, and migration from distant Germany could not satisfy the needs for a labour force. Immigrants had an advantage, however, as they also imported the legal order of towns, thus establishing 'the rules of the game'. The economic activity of the immigrants was also favoured by the privileges granted to them by the lords who were interested in the development of the towns. But the local, indigenous people also participated in Livonian urban life from the outset, contributing to the creation of the cultural, social, and economical patterns of Livonian towns.[22]

In essence, the closest parallel to the discriminatory legal order towards the non-Germans in Livonia is the so-called *Wendenparagraph*, originating from the legal system of the towns in eastern Germany, which was formulated in

compatriots in the late medieval kingdom of Sweden", in *Frontiers in the Middle Ages*, ed. O. MERISALO (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2006: *Textes et Études du Moyen Âge* 35), pp. 121-132.

[19] G. P. MEL'NIKOV, "Немцы в городах Чешкого королевства (XIII-XV вв.)", in: *Город в средневековой цивилизаций*, pp. 243-250.

[20] Cf. J. STRZELCZYK, "Die Wahrnehmung der Fremden im mittelalterlichen Polen", in: *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten*, ed. O. ENGELS and P. SCHREINER (Sigmaringen, 1993: *Kongreßakten des Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes* 4), pp. 203-220.

[21] See the bibliography in F. GRAUS, *Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1980: *Nationes* 3); P. MORAW, "Das Mittelalter", in: *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas: Böhmen und Mähren*, ed. Fr. PRINZ (Berlin, 2002), pp. 23-178, at pp. 59-74, 122-155; J. ROGALL, "Polen vom Mittelalter bis zu den Polnischen Teilungen", in: *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas: Land der großen Ströme: Von Polen nach Litauen*, ed. J. ROGALL (Berlin, 2002), pp. 22-170, at pp. 67-69, 98.

[22] A. PÄRN, "Die Städtegründungen in Estland – Eine Analyse der Einflüsse auf die Siedlungsentwicklung", in: *The European Frontier*, pp. 259-282. See also E. TARVEL, "Genesis of the Livonian town in the 13th Century", in: *Prusy – Polska – Europa: Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów wczesnonowożytnych*, ed. A. RADZIMIŃSKI and J. TANDECKI (Toruń, 1999), pp. 287-301; J. MÄLL, "Arheoloogilise kultuurkihi spetsiifikast Tallinna vanalinna territooriumil", in: *Linnusest ja linnast: Uurimusi Vilma Trummali auks*, ed. A. HAAK *et al.* (Tallinn, 2004: *Muinasaja Teadus* 14), pp. 249-267.

writing in the 1353 Beeskow (Lower Lusatia) statute of shoemakers, and prohibited the acceptance of the Wends (Slavs) in artisans' guilds.[23] The more widespread exclusion of Wends from among the circle of people entitled to become guild members or citizens commenced after 1400. The social relevance of the *Wendenparagraph* has been emphasised when reasoning the background for the establishment of such a stipulation. This accompanied the general growth of rules and regulations in late medieval towns, which went hand in hand with the emergence of compulsory guild membership and the narrowing of the possibilities for becoming a craftsman. Attention has also been drawn to the increasing self-consciousness of professional corporations, resulting in admission limitations with regard to people possessing lower social value. For example, those who originated from among 'non-honourable' professions (executioner, linen weaver,[24] or musician) or could not prove their legal ancestry. And in late medieval eastern Germany, the concept of 'non-honourable' also comprised the Slavs: peasants, country churls, non-burgesses. The word and the status 'Wend' had acquired an explicit social as well as a legal meaning, next to the ethnic one.[25] Within the regions of the German *Ostsiedlung*, the legal status of immigrants (mostly Germans) was better also in rural areas. During the last centuries of the Middle Ages, the peasants in Eastern Europe gradually became serfs, which means that 'Wend' denoting a peasant also referred to the status of serfdom.[26] Thus, the *Wendenparagraph* was an oppor-

[23] SCHICH, "Zum Ausschluß der Wenden", p. 33.

[24] G. M. BÜLOW, "Leineweber(innen): Handwerker zwischen Zunftausschluß, Verketzerung und Armutsspott", in: *Randgruppen der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft*, pp. 198-218, connects the lowering social prestige of linen weavers in the late medieval northern and eastern Germany with their rural origin. Also in Tallinn the linen weavers were non-Germans and recent peasants: JOHANSEN and VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, pp. 183-184; K. KAPLINSKI, *Tallinn – meistrite linn* (Tallinn, 1995), pp. 217-218.

[25] E. ENGEL and S. EPPERLEIN, "Die Entstehung der hochmittelalterlichen Städte im Gebiet zwischen Elbe und Oder", in: *Die Slawen in Deutschland: Ein Handbuch*, ed. J. HERRMANN (Berlin, 1970), pp. 364-371, at pp. 370-371; J. HERRMANN, "Der Prozeß der Assimilation und des deutsch-slawischen Zusammenlebens", in: *Die Slawen in Deutschland*, pp. 376-384, at pp. 380-383; RONIN, "Славянское меньшиство", pp. 239-241.

[26] K.G. HUGELMANN, "Die Rechtsstellung der Wenden im deutschen Mittelalter", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Germanistische Abteilung* 58 (1938), pp. 214-256, at p. 222; B. ZIENTARA, "Nationality conflicts in the German-Slavic borderland in the 13th-14th centuries and their social Scope", *Acta Poloniae Historica* 22 (1970), pp. 207-225, at pp. 215-216; SCHICH, "Zum Ausschluß der Wenden", pp. 44-47; R. CZAJA, "Migration und Integration in die Stadt Elbing im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit", in: *Probleme der Migration und Integration im Preussenland vom Mittelalter bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. K. MILITZER (Marburg, 2005: *Tagungsberichte der Historischen Kommission für Ost-*

tunity for towns to monitor and check the increased migration from the countryside into towns.[27]

In Prussia, the so-called *Prussenparagraph* stipulated that the judicial right over the Prussians and Slavs in the town was in the competence of the feudal lord. This 'paragraph' does not refer to the lowly layer of town-dwellers, however, but concerns the visitors to the towns (peasants), who fell under the jurisdiction of the town only in special cases. Such regulations were also in force in ethnically homogeneous regions. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Prussians were indeed among the citizens of local towns, with limitations to their attaining citizenship introduced only around 1400.[28] Nevertheless, when a man of Prussian descent became a citizen, he also left his previous legal community behind and was not considered to be 'Prussian' any longer.[29]

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*und Westpreussische Landesforschung* 21), pp. 39-51, at pp. 44-47.

[27] The example of Lübeck: E. HOFFMANN, "Lübeck im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Die große Zeit Lübecks", in: *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. A. GRAßMANN (Lübeck, 1997), pp. 79-339, at pp. 228-229, 318-320. Cf. D. BULACH, "Ausgrenzung, Eingrenzung, Assimilation? Slawen und Deutsche im mittelalterlichen Handwerk des südlichen Ostseeraums und Brandenburgs", *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 124 (2006), pp. 71-91; N. KERSKEN, "Städtische Freiheit und die nichtdeutsche Bevölkerung: Livland und die Oberlausitz im Vergleich", *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 57 (2008), pp. 4-22; F. SCHMIEDER, "Various ethnic and religious groups in medieval German towns? Some evidence and reflections", in: *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation*, pp.15-31, at pp.19-22.

[28] H. BOOCKMANN, "*Civis* und verwandte Begriffe in ostdeutschen, insbesondere preußischen Stadtrechtsquellen", in: *Über Bürger, Stadt und städtische Literatur im Spätmittelalter*, ed. J. FLECKENSTEIN and K. STACKMANN (Göttingen, 1980: *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 121), pp. 42-58, at pp. 51-56; cf. F. GAUSE, "Die Forderung deutscher Abstammung der Lehrlinge in den altpreußischen Gewerksrollen", *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 9 (1960), pp. 57-65; M. BISKUP, "Das Problem der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit im mittelalterlichen Landesausbau in Preussen: Zum Stand der Forschung", *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 40 (1991), pp. 3-25; K. MILITZER, "Probleme der Migration und Integration sozialer Gruppen im Preußenland", in: *Probleme der Migration*, pp. 11-38, at pp. 33-34.

[29] H. BOOCKMANN, "Die Städte des Deutschen Ordens", in: *Stadt und Kirche*, ed. F.-H. HYE (Linz/Donau, 1995: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas* 13), pp. 281-300, at pp. 288-291. Cf. J. SARNOWSKY, "Preußen und Rhodos als multiethnische Gesellschaften des 15. Jahrhunderts", *Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußens* 20-21 (2006), pp. 175-188.

In thirteenth-century Livonia, the legal status of non-Germans in towns was principally comparable to that of the Germans.[30] Local urban legal practice, town rights originally imported from Germany, and the law valid in the rural areas were different, but still could become combined in the town. In the fourteenth century, a law limiting ownership rights of wooden buildings (*ius estonicum*) was applied in Tallinn, which – irrespective of the ethnic or social group to which the owner belonged – was replaced by full right of ownership pursuant to the Lübeck law, provided the wooden building was replaced with a stone construction.[31] Likewise, during the late Middle Ages the inheritance rights of the non-Germans in Tallinn were limited only to children; upon the absence of children or a last will, the heir was the magistrate.[32] As a rule, such a restriction has been explained by the potential threat that the real estate in the town would otherwise come under the control of the nobility, as there could be rural serfs among the relatives of the deceased. Yet this also involved an impact from the local rural law pursuant to which the farmstead went to the manor owner in the situation where there were no children as successors.[33] In fifteenth-century Riga, non-Germans were fully deprived of the right to own real estate.[34] Thus, the legal status of non-Germans in different towns varied.

In the historiography of Livonia, the deterioration of the status of non-Germans, starting from the mid-fourteenth century, has been associated with the massive uprising in northern and western Estonia in 1343-1345. The suppressed revolt had supposedly led to a remarkable sharpening of ethnic tensions, which in turn affected social relationships.[35] In addition, attention has

[30] V. NIITEMAA, *Die Undeutsche Frage in der Politik der livländischen Städte im Mittelalter* (Helsinki, 1949: *Suomalaisen Tiedekatemian Toimituksia* B 64), pp. 15-16.

[31] H. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, "Siedlungskontinuität und Rechtslage der Esten in Reval von der vordeutscher Zeit bis zum Spätmittelalter", *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 18 (1969), pp. 630-653, at pp. 636-638; JOHANSEN and VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und undeutsch*, pp. 298-300.

[32] JOHANSEN and VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und undeutsch*, pp. 297-312.

[33] L.ARBUSOW, "Die altlivländischen Bauerrechte", *Mitteilungen aus der livländischen Geschichte* 23 (1924-1926), pp. 1-144, at pp. 77-78, and cf. pp. 36-40, 45-47; E.L. NAZAROVA, ""Ливонские правды" как исторический источник", *Древнейшие государства на территории СССР: Материалы и исследования 1979 г.* (1980), pp. 5-218, at pp. 122-131, 200.

[34] L. ARBUSOW, "Studien zur Geschichte der lettischen Bevölkerung Rigas im Mittelalter und 16. Jahrhundert", *Latvijas Augstskolas Raksti. Acta Universitatis Latviensis* 1 (1921), pp. 76-100.

[35] V. NIITEMAA, *Der Binnenhandel in der Politik der livländischen Städte im Mittelalter* (Helsinki, 1952: *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia* B 76.2), pp. 57-59, 255; JOHANSEN and VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, pp. 22, 288, 301, 407; K. KAPLINSKI, *Tallinna*

been drawn to the consequences of the Black Death, resulting in a decrease of German immigration and a need to protect their position as a governing minority.[36] In the literature, the following reasons have also been cited: the establishment of serfdom in rural areas, the pressure of the nobility to prevent the urbanisation of peasants, the development of compulsory guild membership,[37] and "*gewisse Verknöcherung des Geistes der Zeit*".[38] "As the meal shrank, the diners began to eye each other more suspiciously".[39]

The fact that the deterioration of the status of the urban non-Germans was connected to the development of serfdom in the country has rarely been overlooked by researchers.[40] Nevertheless, it is still essential to underline this aspect once more. Gradually, the term 'non-German' – similarly to 'Wend' in Germany – began to denote a serf. The following example has been repeatedly adduced. In 1621, the guild of blacksmiths in Tallinn refused to accept the son of a carter as an apprentice because of his Estonian origin. The magistrate in this case gave an explanation, however, that the restriction stipulated by the statutes with regard to the admission of Estonians applied to serfs, not to free

*käsitöölised 14. sajandil*, 2 vols. (Tallinn, 1980), 1, pp. 7, 82 cf. EAD., "Über die Einwohnerzahl und die Sozialstruktur Tallinns von 1369 bis 1399", *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 3 (1979), pp. 111-139; M. HELLMANN, "Gilden, Zünfte und Ämter in den livländischen Städten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der 'Undeutschen'", in: *Festschrift für Berent Schwineköper zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. H. MAURER and H. PATZE (Sigmaringen, 1982), pp. 327-335, at pp. 328-329; K. SCHULZ, "Gewerbliche Strukturen des Hanseraumes unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der baltischen Städte (Riga, Reval) im Spätmittelalter", in: *Von der Geschichte zur Gegenwart und Zukunft: Mittelalterliche Wirtschaft, Handwerk und Kultur im baltischen Raum*, ed. B. SCHMIDT (Hamburg, 2006: *Studien zum Ostseeraum* 1), pp. 84-108, at pp. 97-98.

[36] BENNINGHOVEN, *Rigas Entstehung*, pp. 101-102; M. HELLMANN, "Sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Wandel in Alt-Livland im 14. Jahrhundert", in: *Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Festschrift für Karl Bosl zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. F. SEIBT, 2 vols. (Munich, 1988), 1, pp. 227-248, at pp. 241-245; I. PÕLTSAM, "14. sajandi teine pool Liivimaa linnade ajaloos linnadepäevade materjalide põhjal", *Acta Historica Tallinnensia* 1 (1997), pp. 20-37, at pp. 23, 34-35.

[37] JOHANSEN and VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, pp. 22, 289, 430-432; HELLMANN, "Gilden, Zünfte und Ämter", pp. 334-335; H. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, "Schosslisten der Stadt Reval 1369-1372: Ein Querschnitt durch die Bevölkerungsentwicklung Revals von der Frühzeit bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 48 (2002), pp. 117-218, at p. 212.

[38] ARBUSOW, "Studien zur Geschichte der lettischen Bevölkerung", p. 79.

[39] BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, p. 234.

[40] On agrarian developments in Livonia see *Eesti talurahva ajalugu*, 1, ed. J. KAHK *et al.* (Tallinn, 1992); H. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, "Die mittelalterliche Agrarstruktur Alt-Livlands im ostmitteleuropäischen Vergleich", in: *Muinasaja loojangust omariikluse läveni. Pühendusteos Sulev Vahtre 75. sünnipäevaks*, ed. A. ANDRESEN (Tartu, 2001), pp. 123-145. See also NIITEMAA, *Binnenhandel*, p. 193.

town inhabitants.[41] From the end of the fourteenth century, the statutes of the small West-Estonian bishopric town Haapsalu stipulated a 6 *öre* higher fee for Estonians and Swedes to become citizens, and a 5 mark fine for a Swede and 3 mark fine for an Estonian if he settled in the town without his lord's permission to leave his field. Estonians in Haapsalu were not entitled to bequeath their urban real estate to relatives living in the country, whereas both urban and rural Swedes were allowed to bequeath to each other.[42] Unlike Estonians and Latvians, the Swedish peasants in late medieval and early modern Livonia were personally free. Thus, limitations set for non-Germans to settle in cities, particularly in small towns, were indeed connected with the seigneurs' interest in keeping the peasants in the country.[43]

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The increasing imposition of rules and regulations, the emergence of compulsory guild membership, limitations on gaining citizenry, exclusion of serfs from towns, development of a detailed social hierarchy of occupations and guilds, and separation of non-honourable groups of people (low origin, derogative occupation, extramarital birth, etc.), also took place in ethnically (more) homogeneous regions of Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the case of craft guilds, the circle of potential guild masters became relatively small, and the relatives or kin of the masters were in a clearly advantageous position.[44] In Lüneburg (Saxony) the 'excluded' also comprised the

[41] JOHANSEN and VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, pp. 196-197. Cf. H. BOOCKMANN, "Zur ethnischen Struktur der Bevölkerung deutscher Ostseestädte", in: ID., *Wege ins Mittelalter*, ed. D. NEITZERT *et al.* (Munich, 2000), pp. 123-132, at p. 131.

[42] *Die Quellen des rigischen Stadtrechts bis zum Jahr 1673*, ed. J.G.L. NAPIERSKY (Riga, 1876), pp. 47-49. Cf. *Pärnu linna ajaloo allikad 13.-16. sajandini – Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Pernau: 13.-16. Jahrhundert*, 1, ed. I. PÕLTSAM and A. VUNK (Pärnu, 2001), p. 65, No. 13.

[43] NIITEMAA, *Binnenhandel*, pp. 65-66; See also J. KIVIMÄE, "*Iuravit iuxta formam prescriptam*: Zur Rechtslage der Kleinstädte des Bistums Ösel-Wiek am Ausgang des Mittelalters", in: *Festschrift für Vello Helk zum 75. Geburtstag: Beiträge zur Verwaltungs-, Kirchen- und Bildungsgeschichte des Ostseeraumes*, ed. E. KÜNG and H. TAMMAN (Tartu, 1998), pp. 119-135, at pp. 121, 127; I. PÕLTSAM, "Linn nagu keskaja Haapsalu", *Läänemaa Muuseumi Toimetised* 2 (1998), pp. 26-36, at pp. 29-30; I. PÕLTSAM-JÜRJO, *Liivimaa väikelinn Uus-Pärnu 16. sajandi esimesel poolel* (Tallinn, 2009), pp. 185-187.

[44] In the context of the Eastern Europe see E. ISENMANN, *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter 1250-1500: Stadtgestalt, Recht, Stadtregiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft* (Stuttgart, 1988: *UTB für Wissenschaft, große Reihe*), pp. 260-267, 311-314; K. MILITZER, "Ratsverfassung

Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians;[45] as in Anklam (Pomerania), with the Danes and Scots.[46] The craftsmen of a town more eagerly began to orientate themselves towards the upper layers of society and started to accentuate their advantage in the hierarchy in relation to those of lower standing. The broader reason for the spread of the *Wendenparagraph*, however, was the changed reciprocal interrelation between the urban and rural populations. Reputedly, in German Hanseatic towns the number of persons who became citizens had remarkably increased during the second half of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century. The reasons for this phenomenon are, to a great extent, attributable to plague epidemic(s), as after the murrain the 'gaps' among the citizens were filled by non-citizens and, after a time, by rural people who had recently established themselves in towns, whereas the changes in agriculture, commencing as of the second half of the fourteenth century, actually facilitated departure from the rural areas. Demographic setbacks abruptly increased both social and geographical mobility, as citizens' rights were now granted to people who would not have had such an opportunity under what were regarded as normal circumstances. At the same time, people who would be expected to come and reside in towns during times of better economic conjuncture, could became unwanted in periods of a worsening economic situation.[47] Since the beginning of the fifteenth century, attempts by towns to restrict peasants from coming to live in cities were spreading on the southern shore of the Baltic Sea. In the country, peasants became serfs: the 'social value' of the peasants decreased, and their 'economic value' for manor owners increased. Town magistrates attempted to curb the growth of the poor in the towns, and not to ruin their relationships with the rural nobility. Smaller towns were dependent on

und soziale Schichtungen", in: *Hanse – Städte – Bünde: Die sächsischen Städte zwischen Elbe und Weser um 1500*, ed. M. PUHLE, 2 vols. (Magdeburg, 1996), 1, pp. 152-162, at pp. 160-161; J. TANDECKI, "Stellung der Handwerker und ihrer Zünfte in den hansischen Städten – Soziale Wirklichkeit und ihre Wahrnehmung", in: *Das Bild und die Wahrnehmung der Stadt und der städtischen Gesellschaft im Hanseraum im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. R. CZAJA (Toruń, 2004), pp. 180-193.

[45] K. MILITZER, "Die soziale Gliederung in den Hansestädten", in: *Die Hanse – Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos*, ed. J. BRACKER *et al.* (Lübeck, 1999), pp. 411-446, at p. 434.

[46] SCHICH, "Zum Ausschluß der Wenden", p. 32.

[47] Th. PENNERS, "Fragen der Zuwanderung in den Hansestädten des späten Mittelalters", *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 83 (1965), pp. 12-45; SCHICH, "Zum Ausschluß der Wenden", pp. 43-44. Cf. K. FRITZE, *Bürger und Bauer zur Hansezeit: Studien zu den Stadt-Land-Beziehungen an der südwestlichen Ostseeküste vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Weimar, 1976: *Abhandlungen zur Handels- und Sozialgeschichte* 16), pp. 23-24; CZAJA, "Migration und Integration", pp. 44-45.

their lords, for whom a peasant who had come to reside in the city was a lost value.[48] Economic and social crisis phenomena strengthened the self-consciousness of groups and brought about endeavours to maintain the 'old order' by way of regulations.[49] Thus, the *Wendenparagraph* limited the immigration to cities and only thereafter regulated the relationships between the Slavs (here: peasants and simple town people) and the Germans.[50] Similarly, the (fruitless) attempts of the Teutonic Order in the fifteenth century to impede the mutual blending of the Prussians and Germans and the intrusion of Prussian peasants from the countryside to the towns were not related to ethnic or racial circumstances, but were rather an endeavour to maintain the current structure of levies and ensure the income of the Order.[51]

The same applies with regard to the status of the non-Germans in Livonia. The word *undeutsch* was actually polysemic in its medieval use in Livonia. Next to its usual meaning – the Finnic and Baltic rural populace of Livonia – this expression indeed designated all of the non-Germans, also in the political sense (the 'other nation');[52] likewise, in another broadening of the original sense of the expression, *uppe Undusch*[53] could simply mean 'in the countryside', 'among the peasantry'. Abundant examples can be found where 'non-German' simply denotes a peasant.[54] The word is not without a derogative connotation, yet, in its legal, matter-of-fact daily use, it was judgmentally neu-

[48] FRITZE, *Bürger und Bauer*, pp. 24-28; BOOCKMANN, "Zur ethnischen Struktur", pp. 123-132; R. HAMMEL-KIESOW, "Stadtherrschaft und Herrschaft in der Stadt", in: *Die Hanse – Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos*, pp. 446-479, at pp. 463-466.

[49] HERGEMÖLLER, "Randgruppen", pp. 35-42.

[50] BOOCKMANN, "Zur ethnischen Struktur", p. 131.

[51] K. NEITMANN, "Deutsch und 'Undeutsch' im Preußenland: Die Politik des Deutschen Ordens gegenüber den Prußen", in: *Tausend Jahre Nachbarschaft: Die Völker des baltischen Raumes und die Deutschen*, ed. W. SCHLAU (Munich, 1995), pp. 46-57, at pp. 49, 54. See also R. WENSKUS, "Der Deutsche Orden und die nichtdeutsche Bevölkerung des Preussenlandes", in: *Deutsche Ostsiedlung in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Cologne, 1971: *Studien zum Deutschtum im Osten* 8), pp. 86-106; KERSKEN, "Städtische Freiheit", p. 20.

[52] "*uncristene edder de Undwtsche nacie unde fremde herschopp*", quoted by K. NEITMANN, "Um die Einheit Livlands: Der Griff des Ordensmeisters Bernd von der Borch nach dem Erzstift Riga um 1480", in: *Deutsche im Nordosten Europas*, ed. H. ROTHE (Cologne, 1991: *Studien zum Deutschtum im Osten* 22), pp. 109-137, at pp. 125-128; *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage*, 3, ed. L. ARBUSOW (Riga, 1910), Nos. 58, 61.

[53] *Liv-, est- und kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, *1. Abteilung*, 12 vols. (Riga, 1853-1910), 12, ed. PH. SCHWARTZ (1910), No. 29

[54] E.g., *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage*, 1, ed. O. STAVENHAGEN and L. ARBUSOW (Riga, 1907-1933), Nos. 299 §6-8; 495 §2, 4, 5; 496.

tral.[55] At the same time, the word 'Estonian' was also used in the meaning of a dependent as early as the thirteenth century.[56] In addition, the topos denoting that this land was endangered by local, adversarial non-Germans, and internally insecure, was not absent from the written word of Livonia.[57] An analogy to this can also be found in Germany where, at least in literature, the subject matter of the "infidel Wends", dating from the times of Christianisation in the twelfth century, was still maintained even in the sixteenth century.[58]

Consequently, the acute exclusion of the socially weaker strata in towns commenced in Livonia at the same time as elsewhere in Europe – around the second half of the fourteenth century[59] – and is most probably associated with the demographic and economic eruptions of the era that were also apparent in Livonia.[60] In the context of Livonia, this was also the time of the formation of guilds, the onset of limited access to guilds, and the creation of compulsory guild membership.[61] Restrictive stipulations were obviously not targeted at introducing deliberate new limitations, but rather at maintaining the current practice, which was considered to be traditionally followed, and as such 'old' and 'good'.

[55] W. LENZ, "Undeutsch: Bemerkungen zu einem besonderen Begriff der baltischen Geschichte", in: *Aus der Geschichte Alt-Livlands: Festschrift für Heinz Von zur Mühlen zum 90. Geburtstag*, ed. B. JÄHNIG and K. MILITZER (Münster, 2004: *Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission* 12), pp. 169-184. Cf. H. THOMAS, "Sprache und Nation: Zur Geschichte des Wortes *deutsch* vom Ende des 11. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts", in: *Nation und Sprache: Die Diskussion ihres Verhältnisses in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. A. GARDT (Berlin and New York, 2000), pp. 47-101.

[56] E.g., *Liv-, esth- und curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, 1, ed. FR. G. VON BUNGE, 1 (1853), No. 165 cf. No. 435; 2 (1855), No. 735.

[57] E.g., *Liv-, esth- und curländisches Urkundenbuch*, 1, No. 591; 2, No. 616; 3 (1857), No. 1090; 7, ed. H. HILDEBRAND (1881), No. 544; *Akten und Rezesse*, 1, No. 368; *Altlivlands Rechtsbücher zum Theil nach bisher unbenutzten Texten*, ed. Fr.G. VON BUNGE (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 56, 72; T. KALA, "Tallinna rae kiri paavst Innocentius VI-le", *Vana Tallinn* 7 (1997), pp. 141-143; A. SELART, "Political rhetoric and the edges of Christianity: Livonia and its evil enemies in the fifteenth century", in: *The Edges of the Medieval World*, ed. G. JARITZ and J. KREEM (Budapest, 2009: *CEU Medievalia* 11 = *The Muhu Proceedings* 1), pp. 55-69, at p. 64.

[58] SCHICH, "Zum Ausschluß", pp. 44-47; HERGEMÖLLER, "Randgruppen", pp. 2-3, 7-8.

[59] ARBUSOW, "Studien zur Geschichte der lettischen Bevölkerung", pp. 76-100; NIITEMAA, *Undeutsche Frage*, pp. 56-69; VON ZUR MÜHLEN, "Siedlungskontinuität", pp. 645-650.

[60] I. LEIMUS, "Die spätmittelalterliche große Wirtschaftskrise in Europa: War auch Livland davon betroffen?" *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 1 (2006), pp. 56-67.

[61] KAPLINSKI, *Tallinna käsitöölised*, pp. 111-142; PÕLTSAM, "14. sajandi teine pool", pp. 31-34.

The deterioration of the status of non-Germans in Livonia neither originated from the ethnic structure (although this naturally had its peculiarities) nor from the political history of Livonia, nor from the impact of a single event, but was rather part of a general development, locally expressed by way of specific quasi-ethnical terminology. The assumption that the exclusion of non-Germans in towns was accelerated by increased migration from rural areas during the second half of the fourteenth century seems to be in contradiction with the empirical truth that in the tax lists (*Schoßlisten*) of the second half of the fourteenth century (there are no earlier ones at the disposal of researchers), the number of non-German names is relatively small compared with the later period.[62] However, this contradiction can be overcome with the assumption that the urge to migrate and settle in towns was more intense among the insolvent lowly layer of society, which, in turn, lowered the social prestige even more for those of peasant origin in the town. Being a non-German began to fall into the same category with other characteristics of dishonourableness, and relevant statute paragraphs were not only compiled locally, but also transferred from other German towns. If a list of dishonourable persons in sixteenth-century Tallinn comprised illegitimate children, millers, tax collectors, linen weavers, Jews, Wends, non-Germans, and Finns,[63] it clearly indicates an obvious borrowing from Germany that was adapted to local circumstances by adding non-Germans and Finns, as the presence of Wends and Jews was extremely rare in medieval and early modern Livonia. In the sixteenth century, the merchants of Tallinn repeatedly made a proposal to end the admission of Estonians, Finns, and Swedes to citizenship – as it had allegedly been in old times – and suggested replacing the non-German haberdashers with German *Krämer*.[64] But

[62] VON ZUR MÜHLEN, "Schosslisten", p. 212. Cf. K. KAPLINSKI, "Über den ethnischen Bestand der Tallinner Handwerker im XIV. Jahrhundert", in: *Проблемы развития феодализма и капитализма в странах Балтики*, ed. J. TULDAVA and P. MARDI (Tartu, 1975), pp. 87-101; K. KAPLINSKI, "Eestlased ja venelased XIV sajandi Tallinna maksunimistuis", *Keel ja Kirjandus* 18 (1975), pp. 682-692.

[63] P. JOHANSEN, "Der Este im Spiegel der Quellen des Revaler Stadtarchivs", *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga. Vorträge zur Hundertjahrfeier am 6.-9. Dezember 1934* (1936), pp. 10-20, at p. 15. Cf. JOHANSEN and VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, p. 196.

[64] A. MARGUS, "Rahvus- ja sotsiaalvahekordade teravnemine Tallinnas XVI sajandi esimesel poolel", *Vana Tallinn* 4 (1939), pp. 83-104, at pp. 91-93. About the early modern developments in Tallinn cf. Ch.R. FRIEDRICHS, "Artisans and urban politics in seventeenth-century Germany", in: *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900*, ed. G. CROSSICK (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 41-55; E. GIERLICH, "Deutsche und 'Undeutsche' – Zur Wahrnehmung der ethnischen Gruppen in der Stadt Reval im 17. Jahrhundert", in: *Kulturtransfer Polen – Deutschland: Wechselbe-*

even the 'German' craftsmen could not protect their current rights and status from the self-interested imposition of regulations by the merchants at the time:[65]

> Quarrels and disputes arose ... between the merchants and the craftsmen in the Livonian cities. The merchants adamantly opposed the craftsmen's selling or trading anything to a stranger in the port or before the city gate. There was also considerable animosity in regard to the dress of their wives and daughters ... One also refused to grant the craftsmen either the rights or title of citizen.[66]

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Considering the fact that, at least during the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries, Livonian 'non-German' was primarily a social concept rather than an ethnic one, and that, accordingly, different languages in society were attributed to different situations and domains of usage, the emergence of 'non-German' writing did not actually denote the emergence of an 'Estonian' ('Latvian', 'Livic') writing but instead that of the 'language of lower classes'. In this regard, it is not appropriate to juxtapose the writing created in the local languages of Livonia on a one-to-one basis with the emergence of general vernacular literacy in Europe. In Livonia, the vernacular for documentary procedures and literature was Low German,[67] replacing Latin in the course of the fourteenth century, particularly during the second part of the century.[68]

*ziehungen in Sprache, Kultur und Gesellschaft*, ed. K. SAUERLAND, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1999-2004), 3, pp. 49-61.

[65] A. MARGUS, "Einleitung", in: *Katalog des Stadtarchivs Tallinn*, 4, *Archiv der St. Kanutigilde*, ed. A. MARGUS (Tallinn, 1938), pp. XI-LXIV, at pp. XXVI-XXXII.

[66] *The Chronicle of Balthasar Russow*, p. 49.

[67] W. SANDERS, *Sachsensprache, Hansesprache, Plattdeutsch: Sprachgeschichtliche Grundzüge des Niederdeutschen* (Göttingen, 1982).

[68] T. SALMINEN, "Bücher, Konzepte und Briefe: Schriftlichkeit in der Kommunikation des Revaler Rates von Stadtschreiber Hermannus bis Joachim Muter (1375-1456)", in: *Die Stadt im europäischen Nordosten*, pp. 153-168; T. SALMINEN, "The earliest missives and missivebooks of the council of Reval: Some remarks on the management of information in fourteenth century town administration", in: *Verwaltung und Schriftlichkeit in den Hansestädten*, ed. J. SARNOWSKY (Trier, 2006: *Hansische Studien* 16), pp. 123-134; T. KALA, "Languages in a medieval north European city: An example from medieval Tallinn", p. 593; D. LELE-ROZENTĀLE, "Die niederdeutsche Kanzleisprache von Riga", in: *Kanzleisprachenforschung: Ein internationales Hanbuch*, ed. A. GREULE *et al.* (Berlin, 2012), pp. 399-411; EAD., "Baltikum", *ibidem*, pp. 609-621. See also H. BIRNBAUM, "The vernacular languages of East Central Europe in the medieval

Societies in which different social stratifications used different languages could actually function relatively well, whereas the common language, indispensable for communication, was as a rule that of the lower social strata. Likewise, the Baltic German manorial lords mostly did indeed speak Estonian (Latvian) with their peasants and servants in Estonia or Latvia during the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries. While local manorial lords had been, in the majority of instances, brought up as bilingual or multilingual – the non-German language was actually a second mother tongue for them – before the nineteenth century the Lutheran ministers tended predominantly to come from Germany and commenced with language learning only at a later stage, likely contributing to the ridicule that their sometimes insufficient language skills garnered. It can be presumed that similarly to one or two hundred years earlier, there were specific German and Estonian (Livic and Latvian respectively) language circumstances and conversations in the medieval and early modern periods in which the use of a 'wrong' language could have brought about a conflict.The problem would not entail a language not being understood, but rather that the use of a certain language might have violated the established order and thus the social hierarchy.[69] Both in building a social career and in obtaining an education one had to take this language shift into account.

That different languages had their own definite usage domains is confirmed by the substantial reciprocal influence between (Low) German and the local languages of Livonia. The languages borrowed a number of words from each other. Medieval German loan words in local languages are to a great extent related to town life and urban handicrafts, and must have been introduced to the fields by the German immigrants.[70] Today, the Low German loan words

period", in: ... *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways ... Festschrift in Honour of János M. Bak*, ed. B. NAGY and M. SEBŐK (Budapest, 1999), pp. 384-396.

[69] P. JOHANSEN, "Nationale Vorurteile und Minderwertigkeitsgefühle als sozialer Faktor im mittelalterlichen Livland", in: *Alteuropa und die moderne Gesellschaft: Festschrift für Otto Brunner*, ed. A. BERGENGRUEN (Göttingen, 1963), pp. 88-117, at pp. 90-93. On similar cases in medieval Hungary cf. K. SZENDE, "Integration through language".

[70] J. SEHWERS, *Sprachlich-kulturhistorische Untersuchungen vornehmlich über den deutschen Einfluss im Lettischen* (Berlin, 1953: *Veröffentlichungen der Abteilung für slavische Sprachen und Literaturen des Osteuropa-Instituts an der Freien Universität Berlin* 4); P. ARISTE, "Нижненемецкие заимствования в ливском языке", in: *Советское финно-угроведение – Soviet Fenno-Ugric Studies* 9 (1973), pp. 175-178; K. KARULIS, "Das aus dem Mittelniederdeutschen ins Lettische entlehnte Sprachgut", in: *Sprachkontakte zwischen dem Mittelniederdeutschen und dem Lettischen*, ed. H. KREYE (Bremen, 1993: *Hanseatisches Linguistik-Kontor* 4), pp. 55-58. Cf. M. BENTLIN, *Niederdeutsch-finnische Sprachkontakte: Der lexikalische Einfluß des Niederdeutschen auf die finnische Sprache während des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*

comprise the largest group of loan words in the Estonian written language.[71] The vocabulary used in the Livonian version of German that concerns agriculture and animal husbandry on the other hand was borrowed from the local languages.[72] In addition, there were also certain military terms, such as *malwa* ('local militia'), *maia* and *sowalk* ('campsite'),[73] which entered into use due to the significant role of local militia in the thirteenth-century Baltic crusades. An appropriate illustration of the interaction between languages is the medieval Tallinn street name Karyestrate, where the first part of the compound word, *kari* (genitive *karja*: 'herd', 'drove', 'cattle') is in Estonian, and the second part, *strate* ('street') in Low German. Similarly, in the course of the medieval era the peasants oriented themselves more strongly towards the urban and nobility culture; this is characterised by the fact that they began to use Low German first names.[74] The pace of the relevant process varied in different regions, however. In Estonia such a change first took place in northern Estonia (in the 1420s-1430s), and in the later stages in southeast Estonia (during the sixteenth century).[75]

(Helsinki, 2008: *Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia* 256).

[71] P. ARISTE, "Das Niederdeutsche im Estnischen", *Советское финно-угроведение – Soviet Fenno-Ugric Studies* 8 (1972), pp. 91-99; P. ARISTE, *Keelekontaktid: Eesti keele kontakte teiste keeltega* (Tallinn, 1981: *Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia Emakeele Seltsi Toimetised* 14), pp. 97-109; R. RAAG, "Mittelniederdeutsche und skandinavische Lehnwörter im Estnischen und Livischen", in: *Sprachkontakt in der Hanse: Aspekte des Sprachausgleichs im Ostsee- und Nordseeraum*, ed. P.S. URELAND (Lübeck, 1987: *Linguistische Arbeiten* 191), pp. 317-346; R. HINDERLING, *Die deutsch-estnischen Lehnwortbeziehungen im Rahmen einer europäischen Lehnwortgeographie* (Wiesbaden, 1981); H. RÄTSEP, *Sõnaloo raamat* (Tartu, 2002), p. 72.

[72] V. KIPRASKY, *Fremdes im Baltendeutsch* (Helsinki, 1936: *Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsingfors* 11), pp. 23-124; L. OTSMAA, "Eesti laenudest balti alamsaksa keeles", in: *Töid saksa filoloogia alalt*, 1, ed. K. KANN *et al.* (Tartu, 1963: *Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Toimetised* 131), pp. 35-62; L. OTSMAA, "Alamsaksa keelest Baltimail XIII-XVI sajandil", in: *Töid romaani-germaani filoloogia alalt*, 1, ed. O. MUTT *et al.* (Tartu, 1964: *Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Toimetised* 149), pp. 84-112; P. ARISTE, "Estnisches in der niederdeutschen Sprache im Baltikum", in: *Lingua viget: Commentationes slavicae in honorem V. Kiprasky*, ed. I. VAHROS and M. KAHLA (Helsinki, 1965), pp. 9-10; JOHANSEN and VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, pp. 381-387; K. ZIEGELMANN and E. WINKLER, "Zum Einfluß des Deutschen auf das Estnische", in: *Deutsch am Rande Europas*, ed. A. AROLD *et al.* (Tartu, 2006: *Humaniora germanistica* 1), pp. 44-70.

[73] F. BENNINGHOVEN, "Zur Technik spätmittelalterlicher Feldzüge im Ostbaltikum," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 20 (1970), pp. 631-651, at p. 638.

[74] RÄTSEP, *Sõnaloo raamat*, pp. 137-142.

[75] H. PALLI, "Mida kõnelevad isikunimed eestlaste usust XIII-XVI sajandil", in: *Religiooni ja ateismi ajaloost Eestis*, 2, ed. E. JANSEN (Tallinn, 1961), pp. 108-127. Cf. A. HAMPEL, "Sozioonomastische Betrachtungen zur Vornamengebung in Rostock, Stralsund und Riga im 15.

Thus, daily life in the medieval Livonian towns was multilingual. Besides the Low German, Estonian, Latvian and Livic languages, Swedish played an important role in Tallinn and Haapsalu; in Tallinn, it was probably also possible to hear Finnish; and in Narva and Tartu, Votian and Russian. Moreover, local languages were distributed into regional dialects, and it is also likely that the spoken languages differed somewhat between town and countryside.[76] Supposedly, the indigenous town inhabitants of all social strata had some command of German and non-German languages, and chose between them according to the situation.[77] German was appropriate for certain situations and non-German languages for others, according to the social roles of the tongues. The specifically non-German situations did not presume written recording; rather, they remained in the domain of oral communication.[78]

Estonian, Latvian, and Livic were not the tongues of the administration and chancery. Regarding the time prior to the sixteenth century, only some single written words and phrases in these languages have been preserved until today, within the texts in Latin or German or as random glosses.[79] The oldest full texts preserved in Estonian comprise the translations of the Lord's Prayer, *Ave*

Jahrhundert", in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache im Baltikum*, 4, ed. G. BRANDT and I. BALODE (Stuttgart, 2005: *Stuttgarter Arbeiten zur Germanistik* 427), pp. 89-99.

[76] Cf. J. KRĒSLIŅŠ, "Early modern textuality: A Baltic perspective", in: *Common Roots of the Latvian and Estonian Literary Languages*, ed. K. ROSS and P. VANAGS (Frankfurt a.M., 2008), pp. 45-60 at pp. 48-49.

[77] Cf. D. LELE-ROZENTĀLE, "Über den Gebrauch des Niederdeutschen bei der einheimischen Bevölkerung Lettlands", in: *"Was liegt dort hinterm Horizont?" Zu Forschungsaspekten in der (nieder)deutschen Philologie: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. phil. habil. Dr. h.c. Irmtraud Rösler*, ed. I. TEN VENNE (Rostock, 2002: *Rostocker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 12), pp. 69-83 at pp. 78-79.

[78] JOHANSEN and VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, pp. 373-377; T. SALMINEN, "Multilinguality and written correspondence in the late medieval northern Baltics: Reflections of literacy in the communication between the council of Reval and the Finnish bailiffs", *Das Mittelalter* 2.1 (1997), pp. 151-162, at p. 157; J. KIVIMÄE, "Eesti keele kaja Helmich Ficke kaubaraamatus 1536-1542", *Keel ja Kirjandus* 52 (2009), pp. 583-594.

[79] L. ARBUSOW, "Zwei lettische Handschriften aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert (1532 ff. 1625)", *Acta Universitats Latviensis* 2 (1922), pp. 19-57; *Valik eesti kirjakeele vanemaid mälestisi a. 1524-1739*, ed. A. SAARESTE and A. R. CEDERBERG (Tartu, 1925-1931, 1992[2]); E. EHASALU *et al.*, *Eesti keele vanimad tekstid ja sõnastik* (Tartu, 1997); *Eesti vanimad raamatud Tallinnas – Die ältesten estnischen Bücher in Tallinn (Reval*), ed. L. KÕIV *et al.* (Tallinn, 2000), pp. 137-146; P. VANAGS, "Latvian texts in the 16th and 17th centuries: Beginnings and development", in: *Common Roots of the Latvian and Estonian Literary Languages*, pp. 173-197 at p. 173; E. ANDRONOVA, "Research on the earliest (16th-17th c.) Latvian texts: The past twenty years (1985-2005)", in: *Common Roots of the Latvian and Estonian Literary Languages*, pp. 253-284; K. HABICHT, "Estonian studies of old literary Estonian", *ibid.*, pp. 285-304.

*Maria*, and Creed, written on a page within a list of obligations of peasants (*Wackenbuch*) of the Kullamaa (West-Estonia) parish from the 1520s.[80] Likewise, the oldest texts in Latvian are the Lord's Prayer and a fragment of a church hymn from the sixteenth century.[81] It is exceptional that one of the clergy of the Saaremaa bishopric who had been in exile in the Swedish Kingdom in the 1530s, in a private German letter written to a noblewoman in the bishopric, inserted a paragraph in Estonian.[82] The use of this language for reasons of confidentiality cannot be considered, bearing in mind the rather marginal content of the paragraph. Yet the author's choice of language could have been affected by the fact that his mother tongue had supposedly been Finnish,[83] a language close to Estonian. Consequently the German noblewoman (or her clerk) must have been able to read the Estonian paragraph.

The oldest preserved texts in Estonian and Latvian also comprise the texts of court oaths,[84] and the Estonian-language *Juramentum der undudeschen* – the oath of non-German citizens of Tallinn to the Master of the Livonian Teutonic Order, Hermann von Brüggenei – dating from *c.* 1536. The Estonian medievalist Tiina Kala has underlined that this citizen's oath was written by a German town scribe in his usual handwriting, and thus it must not have been difficult for him to write an Estonian text: it probably was not the first time that he had done so.[85]

The emergence of non-German literacy in Livonia has long been associated with the Reformation.[86] At the same time, very few exemplars and fragments

[80] T. PÕLD, *Kullamaa katekismuse lugu: Eestikeelse katekismuse kujunemisest 1532-1632* (Tartu, 1999), pp. 22-23. The text of the Creed is mixed with some earlier German entries about debts.

[81] K. DRAVIŅŠ, *Altlettische Schriften und Verfasser*, 1 (Lund, 1965: *Slaviska institutionen vid Lunds universitet: Slaviska och baltiska studier* 7); H. BIEZAIS, *Beiträge zur lettischen Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte* (Åbo, 1973: *Acta academiae Aboensis, ser. A humaniora* 47.2), pp. 9-37.

[82] J. KIVIMÄE, "Eestikeelne kiri XVI sajandist", *Keel ja Kirjandus* 40 (1997), pp. 315-326.

[83] P. ALVRE, "Kas XVI sajandi eestikeelse kirja kirjutaja oli soomlane?", *Keel ja Kirjandus* 40 (1997), pp. 543-546.

[84] L. ARBUSOW, "Die altlivländischen Bauerrechte", pp. 138-141, 643-644; P. ARISTE, "Eesti keelt rootsiaegsete kohtute protokollidest", *Eesti Keel* 15 (1936), pp. 1-14, 42-46; P. ARISTE, "Eesti keelt rootsiaegsetes kohtutes", *Eesti Kirjandus* 32 (1938), pp. 352-364.

[85] T. KALA, "Keeled ja nende kõnelejad keskaegses Tallinnas: edenemine või taandareng?", *Tuna: Ajalookultuuri ajakiri* 2 (2004), pp. 8-22, at p. 19; KALA, "Languages", pp. 599-601. Cf. KERSKEN, "Städtische Freiheit", p. 18.

[86] I. TALVE, *Eesti kultuurilugu. Keskaja algusest Eesti iseseisvuseni* (Tartu, 2004), p. 102; VANAGS, "Latvian texts in the 16th and 17th centuries", pp. 174-175; KERSKEN, "Städtische Freiheit", p. 21.

of medieval books of Livonian provenance, either in Latin or Low German, have been preserved until the present at all,[87] although they undoubtedly once existed.[88] The Reformation and the transfer from Low German to High German during the early modern period (in the seventeenth century with regard to the written texts; and concerning the spoken language, in the course of the eighteenth century at the latest) made any medieval Livonian literary and clerical manuscripts useless. The great wars in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries also contributed to their destruction.

The introduction of the Lutheran liturgy indeed presupposed non-Latin liturgy. The Protestant principle of justification through faith and *scriptura* alone also pre-necessitated that the word of God should not be mediated, even to the common people, which further made its explanation indispensable. This created the need for books in the languages of all the social layers of society, which the town magistrates were responsible for obtaining.[89] In 1530, the first

[87] N. BUSCH, *Nachgelassene Schriften*, 2, *Die Geschichte der Rigaer Stadtbibliothek und deren Bücher*, ed. L. ARBUSOW (Riga, 1937); T. REIMO, "Inkunabeln und Postinkunabeln in Revaler/Tallinner Bibliotheken und Archiven", in: *Buch und Bildung im Baltikum: Festschrift für Paul Kaegbein zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. H. BOSSE *et al.* (Münster, 2005: *Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission* 13), pp. 89-106; T. KALA, "Medieval books and book fragments in the collections of the Tallinn city archives", in: *Books and Libraries in the Baltic Sea Region from the 16th to the 18th Century*, ed. L. KÕIV, T. REIMO (Tallinn, 2006), pp. 127-137; *Mittelalterliche Handschriften in den Sammlungen des Stadtarchivs Tallinn und des Estnischen Historischen Museums: Katalog*, ed. T. KALA (Tallinn, 2007); R. NEWHAUSER, T. KALA, and M. FRIEDENTHAL, "The work of an English scribe in a manuscript in Estonia", *Scriptorium* 62 (2008), pp. 139-148, at pp. 142-145.

[88] E.g., H. VON BRUININGK, "Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet nach dem Brauche der Rigaschen Kirche im späteren Mittelalter", *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands* 19 (1904), pp. I-VI, 1-656, at pp. 45-50, 114-123; L. MACKENSEN, *Baltische Texte der Frühzeit* (Riga, 1936: *Abhandlungen der Herder-Gesellschaft und des Herder-Instituts zu Riga* 5); A. MENTZEL-REUTERS, *Arma spiritualia: Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Orden* (Wiesbaden 2003: *Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen* 47); N. ANGERMANN, "Die Bedeutung der Hanse für die Kultur des mittelalterlichen Livland", in: *Buch und Bildung im Baltikum*, pp. 41-58; *Deutschsprachige Literatur des Mittelalters im östlichen Europa: Forschungsstand und Forschungsperspektiven*, ed. R. G. PÄSLER and D. SCHMIDTKE (Heidelberg, 2006); C. GOTTZMANN and P. HÖRNER, *Lexikon der deutschsprachigen Literatur des Baltikums und St. Petersburg: Vom Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart*, 3 vols. (Berlin and New York, 2007); *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat in Preussen: Leben und Nachleben*, ed. J. WENTA *et al.* (Toruń 2008: *Sacra Bella Septentrionalia* 1); V. HONEMANN, *Literaturlandschaften: Schriften zur deutschsprachigen Literatur im Osten des Reiches*, ed. R. SUNTRUP *et al.* (Frankfurt a.M., 2008: *Medieval to Early Modern Literature* 11), pp. 383-398.

[89] J. KIVIMÄE, "Kes lugesid ja kasutasid eestikeelset trükitud raamatut XVI sajandil", in: *Raamat on ... Eesti bibliofiilia ja raamatuajaloo almanahh*, 1, ed. E. TEDER (Tallinn, 2000), pp. 59-67, at p. 63.

book of hymns in Low German was printed for the town of Riga in Rostock.[90] In 1525, Lutheran books "*in vulgari liuonico, lettico ac estonico*" were confiscated in the then Catholic Lübeck. This was probably the multilingual publication of the Lutheran Mass order for Livonia.[91] The 1535 catechism, printed for Tallinn with both Estonian and Low German text, has been preserved in fragments. The author of the book was Simon Wanradt, and the translator into Estonian Johann Koell. Both were local preachers. The Tallinn magistrate found a number of theological mistakes in the volume and its sale was prohibited.[92] Although the number of printed copies of Wanradt and Koell's catechism was substantial at 1500 copies, the circle of potential users was limited to clergy and schoolchildren – thus, in the social sense, persons belonging to the 'German' layer (although, in some instances, of non-German ethnic origin).[93] Regardless of the unfavourable fate of the two above-mentioned books, printed books in Estonian and Latvian did indeed exist in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and were both traded and used.[94]

The emergence of non-German literacy in Livonia cannot solely be associated with Lutheranism, however. The requirement that the common people too needed to understand the content of Christian doctrine was not an innovation

[90] P. VANAGS, "Gedruckte niederdeutsche Textvarianten des 16. Jh. und ihre Bedeutung für die zeitliche Einordnung ihrer lettischen Übersetzungen", in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache im Baltikum* [1], ed. G. BRANDT (Stuttgart, 1996: *Stuttgarter Arbeiten zur Germanistik* 339), pp. 131-142, at p. 132.

[91] P. JOHANSEN, "Gedruckte deutsche und undeutsche Messen für Riga 1525", *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 8 (1959), pp. 523-532; J. KIVIMÄE, "Über den estnischen Druck anno 1525", in: *Eesti vanimad raamatud Tallinnas*, pp. 36-61.

[92] K. ALTOF-TELSCHOW, "Der Katechismus von Wanradt und Koell und seine Zeit", *ibid.*, pp. 78-93.

[93] Cf. KIVIMÄE, "Kes lugesid ja kasutasid eestikeelset trükitud raamatut", pp. 61-63.

[94] J. KIVIMÄE, "Die kulturellen Einflüsse der lutherischen Reformation in Estland im 16. Jahrhundert", in: *Reformation und Nationalsprachen*, ed. B. BRENTJES and B. THALER (Halle, 1983: *Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge* 34, F45), pp. 58-82, at pp. 66-68; K. ALTOF, "Vaesed koolipoisid Tallinnas XVI sajandi teisel poolel", in: *Religiooni ja ateismi ajaloost Eestis: Artiklite kogumik*, 3, ed. J. KIVIMÄE (Tallinn, 1987), pp. 57-91 J. KIVIMÄE, "Teated senitundmatu eestikeelse katekismuse kohta Liivi sõja ajast", *Keel ja Kirjandus* 36 (1993), pp. 388-398; KIVIMÄE, "Kes lugesid ja kasutasid eestikeelset trükitud raamatut", p. 64; *Seniespiedumi latviešu valodā 1525-1855: Kopkatalogs*, ed. S. ŠIŠKO *et al.* (Riga, 1999), pp. 39-41; *Eestikeelne raamat 1525-1850*, ed. E. ANNUS (Tallinn, 2000: *Eesti retrospektiivne rahvusbibliograafia* 1), pp. 57-60; P. VĀNAGS, *Luterāņu rokasgrāmatas avoti vecākā perioda (16 gs.-17. gs. sākuma) latviešu teksti* (Stokholm and Riga, 2000). See also C. HASSELBLATT, *Geschichte der estnischen Literatur: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin and New York, 2006), pp. 104-109.

of the Protestant reformers. It is necessary to abandon the sometimes prevailing Lutheran image of priests in medieval Livonia as unworthy pharisees, with no command of local languages. Among the clergy, and particularly the mendicants, were people of non-German ethnic origin. The preaching activity of mendicants extended further than the towns, into rural areas.[95] Although Estonian and Latvian were not written languages at the time, they still encompassed the Christian ecclesiastical vocabulary.[96] In the fifteenth century, the conciliarist prelates of Livonia repeatedly submitted a claim that priests should know the language of their congregations or, in lieu of that, hire a vicar with the relevant skills.[97] At the end of the fifteenth century, preachers to serve the non-Germans were established in both town churches in Tallinn, St. Nicholas and St. Olaf. The task of the priest for the non-Germans was to teach people (presumably first of all peasants) the Lord's Prayer, Creed, *Ave Maria*, and the Commandments.[98] There were also preachers for the non-Germans in Riga.[99]

[95] JOHANSEN and VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, pp. 342-343. T. KALA, *Jutlustajad ja hingede päästjad: Dominiiklaste ordu ja Tallinna Püha Katariina konvent* (Tallinn, 2013: *Tallinna Linnaarhiivi toimetised* 13), pp. 323-330.

[96] K. ROSS, "Keskaegse eesti libakirjakeele põhjendusi ja piirjooni", *Emakeele Seltsi aastaraamat* 51 (2005), pp. 107-129; EAD., "Mida me teame keskaegsest vaimulikust eesti keelest?", in: *Eesti teoloogilise mõtte ajaloost: Sissejuhatavaid märkusi ja apokrüüfe*, ed. R. ALTNURME (Tartu, 2006), pp. 6-16.

[97] *Liv-, esth- und curländisches Urkundenbuch*, 7, No. 690 §3 p. 472 cf. §25 p. 482; 9, ed. H. HILDEBRAND (Riga and Moscow, 1889), No. 131 §1 p.84. See also I. PÕLTSAM, "Eesti raamatu ajaloo algus – kas luterliku või katoliku kirjasõnaga", *Tuna: Ajalookultuuri ajakiri* 2 (2000), pp. 12-20, at pp. 16-18; T. KALA, "Rural society and religious innovation: Acceptance and rejection of Catholicism among the native inhabitants of medieval Livonia", in: *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. A.V. MURRAY (Farnham, 2009), pp. 169-190, at p. 185. Cf. on the contemporary, similar situation in Prussia: A. RADZIMIŃSKI, "Synodalstatuten im Deutschordensland Preußen", in: *Partikularsynoden im späten Mittelalter*, ed. N. KRUPPA, L. ZYGNER (Göttingen, 2006: *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* 219 = *Studien zur Germania Sacra* 29), pp. 157-176, at pp. 171-172.

[98] JOHANSEN and VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, pp. 338-339; KALA, "Languages", pp. 596-598. See also T. PAUL, "Cultural context of the formation of written (literary) Estonian", in: *Common Roots of the Latvian and Estonian Literary Languages*, pp. 15-44 at pp. 16-29; T. KALA, "Gab es eine 'nationale Frage' im mittelalterlichen Reval", pp. 26-27, EAD., "The position of Estonian language in religious life from the Middle Ages to the first half of the eigteenth century: Pastor Heinrich Christopher Wrede's (1691-1764) texts", in: *Nation und Sprache in Nordosteuropa im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. K. MAIER (Wiesbaden, 2012: *Veröffentlichungen des Nordost-Instituts* 9), pp. 167-182.

[99] L. ARBUSOW, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland* (Leipzig, 1921: *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte* 3), pp. 56-58.

In 1422 the Livonian Diet presented a demand that the entire population needed to know the Lord's Prayer, *Ave Maria*, Creed, and Decalogue.[100] The bishop of Saaremaa, Johannes III Orgas (1492-1515) demanded in his synodal statutes that the Lord's Prayer, *Ave Maria*, and Creed had to be taught to the peasants "*in ydeomate suo vulgari*",[101] i.e. "*in loquela eorum Estonica*".[102] The visitation order of his successor, Johannes IV Kievel (1515-1527), stipulated that everyone should know the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Decalogue.[103] The bishop requested that the manorial lords provide for the poor men who would teach the peasants these texts.[104] During the canonical visitation in 1522, it was indeed written, with regard to several peasants questioned in this bishopric, "*non scit pater noster neque credo*", or "*nouit pater noster sed ignorat credo*".[105] Based on this material, it is somewhat difficult to decide whether the prayers in general were unfamiliar, or that only some individual inadequacies were recorded.[106]

The concern of bishops regarding the language skills of the priests was well founded, as the posts of the prebendaries in Livonia[107] were frequently filled with people from outside the country. The intention of Livonian bishops, on the eve of the Reformation, to create a school in the locality to educate the priests, was not a success.[108] One of the proposed solutions to address the non-existent language skills of priests was to write down the necessary texts in a way that they could be read aloud. Provided that the written text was primarily intended to support the memory, it was not indispensable for it to be fully cor-

[100] *Akten und Rezesse*, 1, No. 299 §4.

[101] *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch: Zweite Abteilung*, 2, ed. L. ARBUSOW (Riga and Moscow, 1905), No. 781 §6, p. 600.

[102] *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch: Zweite Abteilung*, 2, No. 782, p. 605. See also PÕLD, *Kullamaa katekismuse lugu*, pp. 173-176.

[103] *Akten und Rezesse*, 3, No. 93 §11, p. 291.

[104] *Akten und Rezesse*, 3, No. 117 §1, p. 349; cf. No. 118 §1, p. 350. See also O. SILD, *Kirikuvisitatsioonid eestlaste maal vanemast ajast kuni olevikuni* (Tartu, 1937: *Acta et commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis (Dorpatensis)* B 40.4), p. 35; KIVIMÄE, "Die kulturellen Einflüsse", pp. 62-63.

[105] E. BLUMFELDT, "Saare-Lääne piiskopkonna visitatsiooniprotokolle aastaist 1519-1522", *Ajalooline Ajakiri* 12 (1933), pp. 44-55, 116-125, 160-164, at pp. 121-124.

[106] T. KALA, "Über das Schicksal des Bistums Ösel-Wiek", in: *Saare-Lääne piiskopkond: Artiklid Lääne-Eesti keskajast – Bistum Ösel-Wiek: Artikelsammlung zum Mittelalter in Westestland*, ed. Ü. PARAS (Haapsalu, 2004), pp. 177-208, at pp. 200-204; KALA, "Rural society", pp. 187-188.

[107] Cf. E. KUUJO, *Die rechtliche und wirtschaftliche Stellung der Pfarrkirchen in Alt-Livland* (Helsinki, 1953: *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian toimituksia* B 79.2), pp. 163-164.

[108] ARBUSOW, *Einführung*, pp. 115-133.

rect grammatically.[109] Moreover, prayers, church hymns, and oaths[110] do have a common feature – they are all texts in which there is no place for improvisation. This means that they had to be recited in their exact wording, and therefore it was necessary to write them down. The role of such written texts was not to replace oral communication, but instead to be a tool supporting the functioning of the latter. In this regard, the Reformation as the deliverer of literacy in the languages of the lower social strata in Livonia should not be overestimated. The requirement for conducting the liturgy in the mother tongue just added another situation which needed to be recorded in writing and disseminated in a fixed manner. And it was indeed at the beginning of the sixteenth century that a substantial growth in written communication and written administrative records emerged in Livonia, and that the oral legal norm was replaced with the written one in general. As a result, the probability that a text was exactly recorded in writing and thus could be preserved until today increased substantially, irrespective of the language of writing.[111] Likewise, the role of the Saaremaa bishopric as the place of origin of early texts in the Estonian language can be explained not only by a special policy of the local bishops, but also by the better archival preservation situation in comparison with the rest of Livonia.[112]

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To conclude: the division between 'German' and 'non-German' in medieval Livonia was a social division, and the non-German languages were used in situations within the realm of oral communication. Estonian, Latvian, and

[109] Cf. KRĒSLIŅŠ, "Early modern textuality", pp. 46-48; R. RAAG, *Talurahva keelest riigikeeleks* (Tartu, 2008), pp. 30-31.

[110] Cf. K. ŚLASKI, "Słowianskie roty przysiąg lennyh z Pomorza Zachodniego z początków XVII wieku", *Zapiski Historyczne* 52 (1987), pp. 887-896; M. RICHTER, *Studies in Medieval Language and Culture* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 34-35.

[111] J. KREEM, "Wem sollen wir glauben? Bemerkungen über Schriftlichkeit (und Mündlichkeit) in den Beziehungen zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und Reval", in: *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: Innere Organisation, Sozialstruktur, Politik*, ed. R. CZAJA and J. SARNOWSKY, (Toruń, 2009: *Ordines militares* 15), pp. 181-190; KALA, "Languages", p. 599; T. KALA, "Das Geschriebene und das Mündliche: Das lübische Recht und die alltägliche Rechtspflege im mittelalterlichen Reval", in: *Hansisches und hansestädtisches Recht*, ed. A. CORDES (Trier, 2008: *Hansische Studien* 17), pp. 91-112.

[112] Cf. e.g. *Akten und Rezesse*, 3, No. 242 §20.

Livic played an important role in everyday life, and these languages were also understood and spoken by many 'Germans' in local society. But they were no languages of literacy, neither in the chanceries nor elsewhere.[113] The preserved early written texts in these languages often do not indicate, paradoxically, the knowledge of local languages by 'Germans', but on the contrary, their ignorance. The prescribed texts, such as prayers and oaths, or bilingual catechisms, served either as aids for reading out loud by persons who were unable to reproduce the wording otherwise, or merely as a support for memory. They do not reflect the real medieval situation of language knowledge and language usage, and in their written form were not directed to a non-German audience. Becoming literate also meant a social career, and it resulted simultaneously in becoming 'German'. In this context, the urban milieu was the crucial backdrop for the complicated and changing social contacts between people of different geographic, ethnic, and social backgrounds.

[113] Cf. Arbusow, "Die altlivländischen Bauerrechte", pp. 68-70, 641.

# Away with the Germans and Their Language? Linguistic Conflict and Urban Records in Early Fourteenth-Century Cracow

ANNA ADAMSKA

On 18 November 1312, the records of a session of the aldermen of Cracow abruptly change from German to Latin, without any announcement or reasons given. Why was this? And what does this surprising change of language signify? Modern scholarship blandly agrees that the medieval towns' plurality of ethnicities and languages not only determined urban culture, but on occasion also contributed to the escalation of political and social tensions in urban communities.[1] There was indeed political turbulence in the Polish capital, Cracow, in 1311-1312. The change in the language of its civic literacy suggests that politics and ethnicity exercised a decisive pressure on

[1] From the abundant literature on these problems, see, among others: J.S. AMELANG, "Cities and foreigners", in: *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, 2, *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. D. CALABRI and S. T. CHRISTENSEN (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 42-55; *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. D. KEENE *et al*. (Farnham, 2009); *Rivolte urbane e rivolte contadine nell'Europa del trecento: Un confronto: Atti del convegno Firenze, 30 marzo-1 aprile 2006*, ed. G. PINTO *et al*. (Firenze, 2008).

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 65-85.

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literate behaviour and the way urban records were produced. Let us consider the circumstances of the unprecedentedly abrupt disappearance of German from the town book.

## *The Organisation of Institutional Literacy in Cracow*

### *The Development of the Urban Community*

The explosion of violence in Cracow in the year 1311-1312, which influenced the practices of the urban chancery, cannot be properly understood without some basic knowledge of the social and political history of Poland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Especially in the thirteenth century, Cracow, a very old urban settlement and one of the "*sedes principales regni Poloniae*", occupied an exceptional position. During the so-called 'feudal dismemberment' of Poland (1138-1320), when the country was divided into a large number of smaller principalities, every ruler who dreamt of reunifying the country tried to establish control over this city.[2]

From the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards, the urban agglomeration of Cracow expanded intensively beyond the old, early medieval structures of the princely castle of the Wawel with its circle of *suburbia*. Even the Mongol attack of 1241 did not stop this process. The number of inhabitants rose, and simultaneously the economic and cultural importance of the city grew.[3] The leading position of Cracow was reinforced by its religious function as the centre of the cults of several saints, especially of St. Stanislas, bishop and martyr, canonised in 1254, who became the patron saint of the reunified Polish kingdom.[4]

[2] On the history of the urban agglomeration of Cracow, see, among others: J. WYROZUMSKI, *Dzieje Krakowa Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich* (Cracow, 1993); ID., *Cracovia mediaevalis* (Cracow, 2010). For the political history of Polish lands in regional context, see: C.S. ROWELL, "The Central European kingdoms", in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, 5, ed. D. ABULAFIA (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 754-778.

[3] See, e.g. J. PTAŚNIK, *Finanse i handel średniowiecznego Krakowa*, 2nd edn. (Cracow, 2009); K. OŻÓG, "Życie intelektualne w przedlokacyjnym Krakowie", in: *Kraków przedlokacyjny* (Cracow, 1987), pp. 104-142.

[4] See W. MROZOWICZ, "Die politische Rolle des Kultes des hl. Adalbert, Stanislaus und der hl.. Hedwig im Polen des 13. Jahrhunderts", in: *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne: Approche comparative*, ed. M. DERWICH and M. DIMITRIEV (Wrocław, 1999), pp. 111-124.

The most important impulse for the development of institutional civic literacy in Cracow was the change of the town's legal situation in 1257. Although a well-organised 'urban' settlement existed already in the twelfth century,[5] there was as yet no institutionalised self-government with respect to administration or justice. The development of governmental institutions, which relied largely on the use of the written word, was the result of the so-called *locatio* according to 'German' law. This spectacular process has been discussed in scholarly literature for more than a hundred years.[6] It profoundly changed the economic and ethnic map of East Central Europe in the later Middle Ages. Between the early thirteenth and the end of the fifteenth centuries, it affected vast areas, from the river Elbe in the west to the river Dniepr in the east, and from the Baltic Sea in the north to Transylvania in the south. Terms such as *locatio*, *melioratio terrae*, or 'colonisation according to German law'[7] could have a double meaning. On the one hand, they signified the organisation of new settlements on territories which, until the late twelfth century, had been found unsuitable for agriculture. On the other hand, they could refer to a change in the legal status of already extant towns and villages, using precise, written agreements between new colonists and the owners of the land. This was also the case with Cracow.

## *The* Locatio

The turning point in the history of the city is testified by a charter delivered in the name of the ruler of Lesser Poland of the time, duke Boleslas the Bashful (*Pudicus*), his wife Kinga, and his mother, princess Grzymisława, dated 5 June 1257. The decision for the *locatio* was taken during the assembly of local dig-

[5] As marks of urban character of Cracow at the time, Jerzy Wyrozumski pointed out the liberty to hold periodical markets, and the princely safeguard of trade routes leading to the city: J. WYROZUMSKI, "Lokacja czy lokacje Krakowa na prawie niemieckim?", in: ID., *Cracovia mediaevalis*, pp. 138-139.

[6] See *Historiographical Approaches to Medieval Colonization of East Central Europe*, ed. J.M. PISKORSKI (New York, 2002).

[7] The term 'German' is quite ambiguous itself. In practice, it was a matter of the taking over of legal solutions used before in the successful *locatio* of a town. In the Polish lands most popular was the law 'of Magdeburg' (*ius Magdeburgense*), followed by the *ius Sredense* (from Środa Śląska in Silesia) and *ius Culmense* (from Kulm / Chełmno in Prussia), both of which were developed regionally. See, e.g. F. EBEL, "Kulmer Recht – Probleme und Erkenntnisse", in: ID., *"Unseren fruntlichen grus zuvor": Deutsches Recht des Mittelalters im mittel- und osteuropäischen Raum: Kleine Schriften*, ed. A. FIJAL *et al*. (Cologne, Weimar, andVienna, 2004), pp. 135-150.

nitaries, clergymen, and knights, some of whom (the bishop of Cracow and cathedral chapter together with the Cracow castellan and governor) had their seals attached to the charter, next to the ducal seal.[8] The charter shows an essential mechanism of so-called German law, that is the borrowing both of earlier texts and the rules they contain. The model for the *locatio* of Cracow was taken from Wrocław (Breslau) in Silesia, which had undergone the same procedure probably in 1242; it seems most likely, however, that the model for the legal procedures for the work of the municipal tribunal came from Magdeburg.[9] There is no doubt that written law, the written word, henceforth was to be a keystone for the life of the urban community.

Among the many prescriptions contained in the Cracow *locatio* charter, two seem especially important from the perspective of future events. The daily government of the city was put in the hands of a mayor (*advocatus*). This function was hereditary and extremely well endowed;[10] it offered the officeholder an opportunity for amassing great amounts of power. Next, there was a clause forbidding the local Polish population to settle in Cracow. The growth of the city depended on newcomers, and this surprising rule was intended to prevent too large a migration to Cracow from the estates of local land owners.[11] It also encouraged the immigration of foreign settlers, both from western Europe and from neighbouring Silesia.

It is unclear how far these immigrants were perceived by the local community as 'Germans', as 'Others'. The answers given by historians over the last two centuries have been influenced by ethnic considerations. The chasm between German historians, glorifying the *Deutsche Ostsiedlung*, and their main-

[8] Cracow, Archiwum Państwowe [Municipal Archives], dok. Perg., n.2, edited in: *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa*, ed. F. PIEKOSIŃSKI (Cracow, 1879), No. 1. Palaeographical and diplomatic analysis by P. RABIEJ, "Kilka uwag o dokumencie lokacyjnym Krakowa z 1257 roku", in: *Miasta, ludzie, instytucje, znaki: Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesor Bożenie Wyrozumskiej w 75. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Z. PIECH (Cracow, 2008), pp. 487-499.

[9] "*Eo iure eam locamus, quo Wratizlauiensis civitas est locata, ut non, quod ibi fit, sed quod ad Magydburgensis civitatis ius et formam fieri debeat advertatur, ut si quando de hoc dubitatum fuerit, ad ius scriptum a dubitantibus recurratur*" (*Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa*, No. 1). About the difficulties in interpreting of this passage, see J. WYROZUMSKI, "Lokacja czy lokacje", pp. 146-148.

[10] See *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa*, p. 2; M. NIWIŃSKI, *Wójtostwo krakowskie w wiekach średnich* (Cracow, 1938), pp. 21-25 and 29.

[11] "*... Hoc eciam nobis iidem advocati promiserunt, quod nullum scripticium nostrum, uel Ecclesie, seu ciuiscumque alterius, uel eciam Polonum liberum, qui in rure hactenus habitauit, faciant suum conciuem, ne hec occasione nostra uel episcopalia aut canonicorum, uel aliorum predia ruralia desolentur ...*" ( *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa*, p. 3).

ly Polish and Czech counterparts, who saw the medieval settlers as the Fifth Column of German expansion, was deepened by the atrocities of the Second World War and their geopolitical consequences. Discussions of the ethnic aspects of the export of 'German' law and 'German' economic institutions benefited from the political changes in East Central Europe after 1989.[12] Scholars in the region finally felt the freedom to study these problems *sine ira et studio*, having abandoned the official doctrine of 'communist nationalism' which had presented German settlers merely as unwanted intruders.[13]

As far as ethnic relationships in medieval Cracow are concerned, it is hard to establish even approximately the numbers of inhabitants belonging to the major groups. One may assume that some German settlers lived in the town from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards, with their own *vicus* and church, as was very often the case elsewhere in Europe.[14] We do not know, however, in how far the *locatio* of 1257 intensified the migration. An estimate of Cracow's population at the end of the fourteenth century arrives at 5000 Poles and 3500 Germans living in the city, but one can only surmise that the proportions between the two groups had been more or less the same around 1310.[15] However, it is not the exact numbers that are relevant here, but rather

[12] Especially significant is the discussion on the 'German' or non-German character of the Hanse. See, e.g. T. BEHRMANN, "'Hansekaufmann', 'Hansestadt', 'Deutsche Hanse'? Über hansische Terminologie und hansisches Selbverständnis im späten Mittelalter", in: *Bene vivere in communitate: Beiträge zum italienischen und deutschen Mittelalter Hagen Keller zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Th. SCHARFF and T. BEHRMANN (Münster and New York, 1997), pp. 155-176; M.-L. PELUS-KAPLAN, "Merchants and immigrants in Hanseatic cities, *c.* 1500-1700", in: *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, 2, *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. D. CALABRI and S. T. CHRISTENSEN (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 132-153; P. BROOD, "The German Hanse; a medieval European organisation?", in: *The German Hanse in Past & Present Europe: A Medieval League as a Model for Modern Interregional Cooperation?*, ed. H. BRAND (Groningen, 2007), pp. 29-48.

[13] More about these issues in A. ADAMSKA, Idioma communis totius mundi*: Studies on Latin and Vernacular Languages in Medieval East Central Europe* (in preparation). See also the contribution of Anti Selart to this volume and F. EBEL, "Die Bedeutung deutschen Stadrechts im Norden und Osten des mittealterlichen Europa", in: ID., *"Unseren fruntlichen grus zuvor"*, pp. 389-401.

[14] J. WYROZUMSKI, "Lokacja czy lokacje", p. 139. For a comparative perspective, see, e.g. P. JOHANSEN, "Die Kaufmannskirche im Ostseegebiet", in: *Studien zu den Anfängen des europäischen Städtewesens: Reichenau -Vorträge 1955-1956* (Lindau and Konstanz, 1958), pp. 499-525.

[15] These numbers, proposed by Józef Mitkowski, were taken over by J. WYROZUMSKI, *Dzieje Krakowa*, p. 318. Because of the scarcity of sources for the earlier centuries, most attempts at such calculations concern the fifteenth or the sixteenth centuries. See, e.g. H. SAMSONOWICZ, "Gesellschaftliche Pluralität und Interaktion in Krakau", in: *Krakau, Prag und*

the fact that by the beginning of the fourteenth century the 'Germans' were at the top of the social hierarchy in Cracow. They possessed money, power, and international connections. That at least seems to have been the general belief among the Poles. One of the reasons for this conviction was the strong position of the German language, not only as an instrument of everyday communication but also as the *Kanzleisprache*, the language of institutional literacy of the urban community.

### *The Urban Chancery and Urban Records in Cracow*

Probably shortly after the location of Cracow of 1257 (which entailed topographical changes which are still visible today), the municipal chancery started to work.[16] From its early period before 1301 no records are preserved, but at least the municipal seal is known. The chancery, an undisputed institution of public trust, during the fourteenth century became a large proto-bureaucratic machinery, serving the needs of both the community and the individual inhabitants of Cracow.[17] The tasks of its head, called in the sources *notarius civitatis*, *scriptor civitatis*, or *Stadtschreiber*, went further than the mere keeping of urban records, the making of protocols of meetings of the city council, and expertise in legal matters. As in many other towns founded on 'German'

*Wien: Funktionen von Metropolen in frühmodernen Staat*, ed. M. DIMITRIEVA and K. LAMBRECHT (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 117-131; A. JANECZEK, "Ethnische Gruppenbildungen im spätmittelalterlichen Polen", in: *Das Reich und Polen*, ed. TH. WÜNSCH and A. PATSCHOVSKY (Ostfildern, 2003: *Vorträge und Forschungen* 59), pp. 401-446.

[16] Scholars dealing with the subject usually take for granted an immediate 'institutionalisation' of the use of the written word in newly located cities, because legal literacy formed the frame of the daily life of the community. See, among others, B. WYROZUMSKA, *Kancelaria miasta Krakowa w średniowieczu* (Cracow, 1995), p.19. On the inclination of some scholars to see urban chanceries as 'automatically emerging' bureaucratic structures, see, e.g. W. PREVENIER, "La production et la conservation des acts urbains dans l'Europe médiévale", in: *La diplomatique urbaine en Europe au moyen âge*, ed. W. PREVENIER and TH. DE HEMPTINNE (Louvain and Apeldoorn, 2000), pp. 559-570, at p. 563.

[17] On the subject of the special role of Cracow in the development of urban literacy in Poland, see A. BARTOSZEWICZ, "Urban literacy in small Polish towns and the process of 'modernisation' of society in the later Middle Ages", in: *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy I*, ed. M. MOSTERT and A. ADAMSKA (Turnhout, 2014: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 27), pp. 149-182.

law, the clerk belonged to the local power elite and often acted as an ambassador of his community.[18]

Many of the records produced by the Cracow chancery belonged to the domain of institutional civic literacy. The oldest preserved town book (with entries from 1301 onwards) reflects the early stage of development of this type of municipal documentation. Contrary to the later practice of keeping separate books for different kinds of legal matters, it recorded both decisions of the town council and all sorts of legal transactions between individuals.[19] In one expert's opinion these notices of sales, purchases, and renunciations were made in a rather untidy and seemingly chaotic way. Some of them were written down only afterwards, while others were recorded twice, with little consideration for chronological order.[20] Much more important for us, however, is the fact that this town book offers evidence of an abrupt change of chancery routine as far as the language of the records is concerned.

The language of the entries from the period 1301-1312 was German.[21] In this respect, Cracow was not different from great numbers of other towns in East Central and Northern Europe, where German spread as the language of choice for municipal records.[22] Its presence spread along the coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic, from Norway to the Finnish Bay, and finally reached the territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Red Ruthenia, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Walachia. Its use for the purposes of urban literacy does not reflect ethnic relationships; rather, it resulted from the transfer of a model of law which happened to have been developed in German, and, last but not least, from commercial contacts. One of the German language's varieties, known as Middle Low German (*Mittelniederdeutsch*), not only dominated the pragmatic literacy of towns on the Baltic coast, but, thanks to the mobility of the mer-

[18] B. WYROZUMSKA, *Kancelaria miasta Krakowa*, pp. 25-26. A detailed presentation of diplomatic missions undertaken by urban notaries in A. BARTOSZEWICZ, *Piśmienność mieszczańska w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*, part III, pp. 133-193.

[19] Edition: *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa od r. 1300 do 1400*, ed. F. PIEKOSIŃSKI and J. SZUJSKI (Cracow, 1878). For the description and the history of preservation of the manuscript, see WYROZUMSKA, *Kancelaria miasta Krakowa*, pp. 51-55.

[20] WYROZUMSKA, *Kancelaria miasta Krakowa*, pp. 59 ff.

[21] See a.o. J. WIKTOROWICZ, *Krakauer Kanzleisprache: Forschungsperspektiven und Analysemethoden* (Warsaw, 2011), and A. BARTOSZEWICZ, *Języki wernakularne w testamentach mieszczan krakowskich XIV-XV w.* (in the press).

[22] About varieties of German as the main language of urban institutional literacy in Northern and East Central Europe, see, e.g. *Kanzleisprachenforschung: Ein internationales Handbuch*, ed. A. GREULE *et al.* (Berlin, 2012), especially part V.

chants, became a preferred language of contact (*Umgangsprache*) with a well-developed professional vocabulary in the domains of trade, crafts, and the law.[23]

The position of German as the dominant language of civic literacy in Cracow was reinforced by a permanent need to use reference texts of German law. Until 1356, the town council would ask the aldermen of Magdeburg for legal advice in difficult cases. Their sentences (*Urteile*) were formulated in German.[24] Afterwards they were arranged in collections, which came to be treated as supplementary sources of legal literacy. The essential texts were kept in the town hall. A municipal inventory from 1550 records "*Saxenspiegel Germanicum in folio, Processus iuris Germanicus ligatus, Sentencie Maideburgenses scripte, Waichbilt Germanicus scriptum*".[25] One should not forget, however, that in Cracow, as in the whole region, the role of German as a language of pragmatic literacy did not completely vanquish the predominance of Latin as the first, and for a long time the main, written language.[26] At the very beginning of the fourteenth century, the city council saw the need to have the *Sachsenspiegel* in Latin, most probably to satisfy those among the inhabitants who were unable to understand administrative German, while Polish was not as yet a 'writable' language in the domain of practical literacy. The translation, made by Konrad of Opole (in Silesia) in 1308, meant just for the citizens of Cracow, was apparently very successful, as at least twelve manuscripts containing the text are known today.[27]

[23] From the abundant literature on this subject, see, e.g. *Deutsche Kanzleisprachen im europäischen Kontext*, ed. A. GREULE (Vienna, 2001); K. SZENDE, "Integration through language: The multilingual character of late medieval Hungarian towns", in: *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation*, pp. 205-233, at p. 210; *Rechts- und Sprachtransfer in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, ed. E. EICHLER and H. LÜCK (Berlin, 2008); R. PETERS, "Das Mittelniederdeutsche als Sprache der Hanse", in: *Sprachkontakt in der Hanse*, ed. P. STURE URELAND (Tübingen, 1987), pp. 65-88. The (generally unsatisfying) synthesis of Helmut Glück emphasises the importance of commercial contact for the spread of the language's use in East Central Europe (cf. H. GLÜCK, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Europa vom Mittelalter bis zur Barockzeit* (Berlin and New York, 2002), pp. 84-98).

[24] At the turn of the fourteenth century, the promulgation of these answers could still happen in great part orally. See: F. EBLE, "Kulmer Recht", pp. 137 ff; ID., "*Des spreke vy vor eyn recht* ...: Versuch über das Recht der Magdeburger Schöppen", in: ID., *"Unseren fruntlichen grus zuvor"*, pp. 423-511, esp. pp. 429-450.

[25] I am quoting after WYROZUMSKA, *Kancelaria miasta Krakowa*, pp. 23-24.

[26] See ADAMSKA, Idioma.

[27] E. POTKOWSKI, "Autorytet prawa w średniowieczu", in: *Kultura prawna w Europie Środkowej*, ed. A. Barciak (Katowice, 2006), pp. 16 ff. See also F. EBEL, "Die deutsche Rechtsliteratur im mittelalterlichen Schlesien unter besonderer Berückstichtung der Breslauer Quellen",

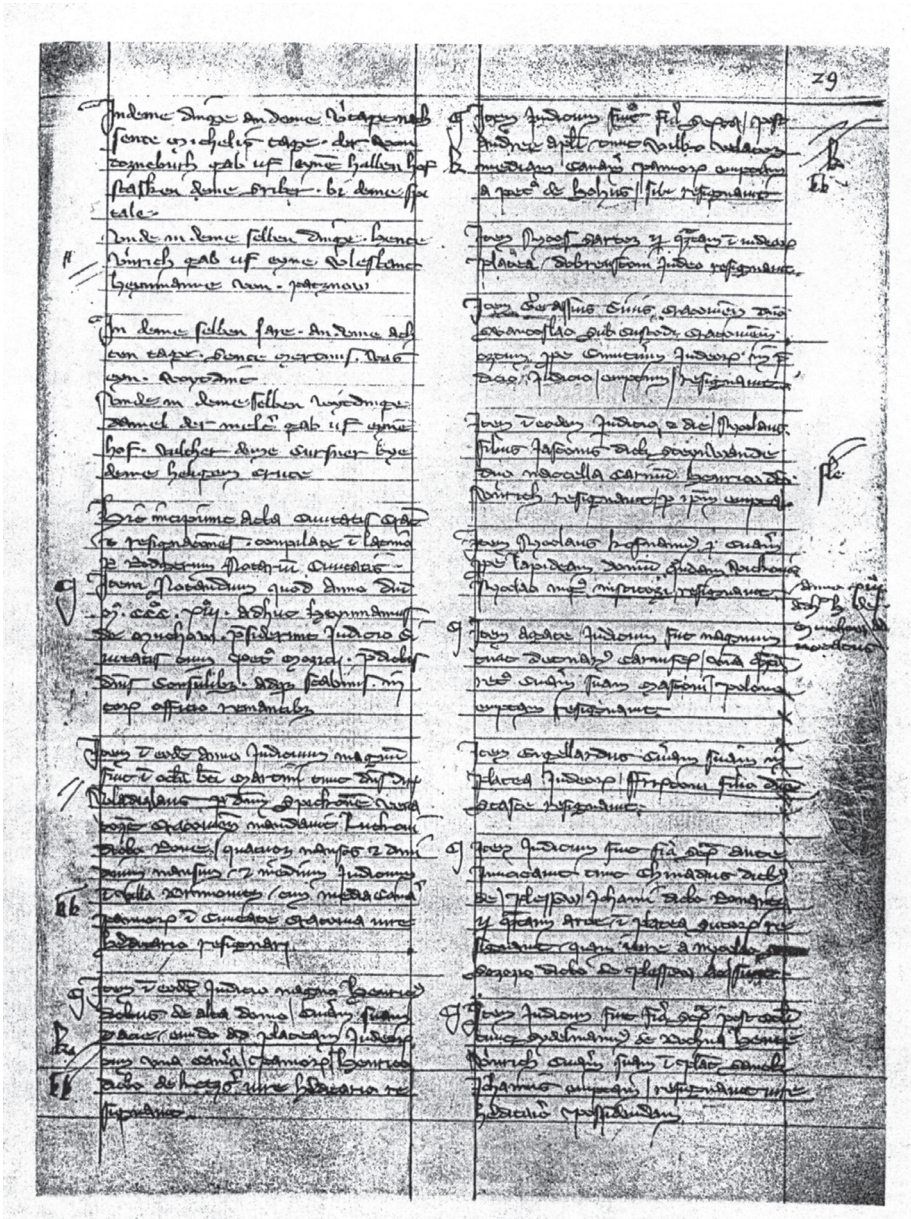

**Fig. 1** The oldest town book of Cracow (Cracow, Archivum Narodowe w Krakowie, Akta miasta Krakowa, sygn. 1), f. 29r, first column l. 17: the change of language from German to Latin during the town's council meeting of 18 November 1312.

But why did Latin replace German in the oldest preserved town book of Cracow on 18 November 1312? The evidence of the book itself suggests that it happened literally from one moment to another. On that day a record was made of a session of the tribunal of the alderman (*woytdinc*).[28] The first case, concerning the sale of a house, had been registered in German (see Fig. 1): "*Vnde in deme selben voytdigne daniel der melcer gab uf eynen hof Valther deme Cursner bye deme heligen Cruce*".[29] And then, suddenly, we find the following note in Latin: "*Hic incipiunt acta Ciuitatis Cracouie et resignationes compilate in latino per Rodgerum notarium civitatis ...*".[30] And indeed, from this point on follow records in Latin only.

The note itself looks quite mysterious and does not give any reason for the change. Other sources must be adduced to explain what was happening in Cracow at the time, and how political conflict resulted in a change of chancery practice.

## *Turbulence in Cracow in 1311-1312*

### *Urban Revolt and Its Suppression*

Around the turn of the fourteenth century, Cracow had become involved in the political struggles for the reunification of the Polish lands under a single ruler. Cutting a long story short, suffice it to say that besides members of several branches of the Piast dynasty, the rivalry also involved external players, to wit the dukes of Brandenburg, the Teutonic Knights, and the king of Bohemia (which at the same time experienced a period of political prosperity).[31] The king, Venceslas II Premyslid, took control of the city of Cracow and of the whole of Lesser Poland in 1292, and was finally crowned as King of Poland in

in: *Anfänge und Entwicklung der deutschen Sprache im mittelalterlichen Schlesien*, ed. G. KEIL and J.J.MENZEL (Sigmaringen, 1995), pp. 83-86.

[28] *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki*, p. 28.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Ibid*.

[31] The period of struggles for the reunification of the Polish Kingdom (*c.* 1285- 1320) remains the subject of ongoing discussion in Polish medieval studies. The state of research on the politics and history of the period is summarised in: *Polska około roku 1300*, ed. W. FAŁKOWSKI (Warsaw, 2003). See also J. KURTYKA, *Odrodzone Królestwo: Monarchia Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego w świetle nowszych badań* (Cracow, 2001).

1300.[32] This state of affairs was to last only for a short time, however. Venceslas's main adversary, duke Vladislas the Short (*Łokietek*, 'the Elbow') from the Piast dynasty, was seen as a 'national' candidate, and he was supported by those strata of society which did not accept the noticeable influx of German employees of the Bohemian administration. After having experienced many political misfortunes, with the support of the nobility, the peasants, and a part of the clergy. Vladislas gained control of Cracow in 1306.[33] But it quickly became clear that his rule over the city, which had been paid for with an extension of its economic liberties, was very fragile.[34]

The revolt against duke Vladislas's dominion, known as 'the revolt of Cracow's mayor Albert',[35] most likely started in 1311. The rebels gave control over the city to the Prince of Opole, who was in fact a vassal of the Bohemian king. In the eyes of the Cracow elite, direct or indirect Bohemian rule offered much better prospects for economic development than the rule of a 'second-rate' ruler who was permanently involved in military struggles. A few years before, other Polish towns had tried to secure their interests by starting political and commercial confederations. Recently the Cracow revolt has been seen as an expression of the same desire for political autonomy which could also be observed in many towns of the German empire at the same time.[36] This seems all the more plausible if we consider that the first decades of the fourteenth century saw similar conflicts in many other regions of Northern Europe, espe-

[32] After his death in 1305, and after the short reign of his only successor Venceslas III († 1306), the rights to the Polish crown were claimed by John of Luxembourg, the king from the new dynasty ruling Bohemia.

[33] See, e.g. J. BIENIAK, *Wielkopolska, Kujawy, ziemia łęczycka i sieradzka wobec zjednoczenia państwowego w latach 1300-1306* (Toruń, 1969); T. NOWAKOWSKI, *Małopolska elita władzy w walce o tron krakowski w latach 1288-1306* (Bydgoszcz, 1992). In the end, getting control of Cracow and its region was the first step to long-term political success of the duke, expressed by his royal coronation in 1320, which is treated by historians as the symbolic date of the reunification of the country.

[34] See J. SIKORSKI, "Przywileje celne miasta Krakowa i kwestia autentyczności dyplomu Łokietka z 1306 roku", *Rocznik Krakowski* 35 (1961), pp. 51-90.

[35] Albert was the hereditary mayor of Cracow, sharing the dignity with his three brothers from *c.* 1290 onwards. An extremely wealthy and ambitious man, he used to be seen as 'the face' of the conspiracy against Duke Vladislas, in which not only lay town dwellers but also some eminent clergymen took part. See, e.g. R. GRODECKI, "Albert", in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 1 (Cracow, 1935), pp. 43-44.

[36] A presentation of the discussion on political attitudes of urban milieus in Poland at the turn of the fourteenth century can be found in R. CZAJA, "Miasta i mieszczaństwo na ziemiach polskich na przełomie XIII/XIV w.", in: *Polska około roku 1300*, pp. 69 ff. See also J. KURTYKA, *Odrodzone Królestwo*, pp. 183 ff.

cially in Flanders. There, with allegiances shifting from the local count to the King of France and back again, the inhabitants of the wealthy cities were in a situation comparable to that of Cracow.[37] The Cracow revolt can therefore be seen as part of more general efforts of urban milieus to attain the liberty to make political choices allowing them to defend their own interests.

Curiously enough, the course of the Cracow rebellion is not known in detail.[38] The scarce contemporary narrative sources reflect the point of view of the political milieu around the betrayed Duke Vladislas.[39] This is clearly visible in the description which is probably written closest to the events (it dates from *c*. 1330), which comes from the *Annals* kept by the members of the cathedral chapter of Cracow:

> In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1312, the burghers of Cracow, animated by the furore of Germanic acrimony, friends of crime and overt and disguised enemies of the peace, having rejected the fear of God, opposed Lord Vladislas, duke of Cracow and Sandomierz, and the ruler of the whole of Poland; as Judas giving the kiss to Jesus, instead of an oath [they] showed slyness, and [they] brought in Boleslas, Duke of Opole. He finally made peace with Duke Vladislas and, having done several damages to the burghers, having caught the alderman Albert who was at the origin of this immoral deed, returned to his own [lands]. And then, the glorious Duke Vladislas immediately entered the city, caught some burghers and imprisoned them. He dragged those prisoners with horses through the whole city and he hanged on the gallows those dragged outside the town in a deplorable way, and he ordered that the bodies should hang there until the tendons would dissolve the hanging together of the bones. In the same year, after having destroyed the house of the mayor mentioned before, he constructed a castle in the city and the tower in the gate in the direction of [the church of] St. Nicholas.[40]

[37] See: M. Boone and M. Prak, "Rulers, patricians and burghers: The great and the little traditions of urban revolt in the Low Countries", in: *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European perspective*, ed. K. Davids and J. Lucassen (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 99-134, at p. 104.

[38] There is even a hypothesis that two rebellions took place, in 1306 and in 1311-1312. See the presentation of the state of research by M. Starzyński, *Krakowska rada miejska w średniowieczu* (Cracow, 2010), pp. 52-53.

[39] For a detailed analysis of all written evidence, see Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa*, pp. 199-204.

[40] "*Anno incarnacionis Domini nostri jesu Christi M°CCC°XII cives Cracovienses rabie furoris Germanici perusti, fraudis amici pacis quoque palleati hostes et oculti, domino Wladyzlao duci Cracovie, Sandomirie ac domino tocius Polonie quemadmodum Iudas Jesu osculum prebentes, vice iuramenti prestantes cautelam, deposito Dei timore contradixerunt et Bolezlaum ducem Opoliensem induxerunt. Qui tandem cum dicto Wladyzlao Loketcone concordavit illatisque*

A later source, the so-called *Chronicle of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter*,[41] composed probably in the 1370s, adds complementary information:

> ... When six years passed the alderman Albert and the citizens of Cracow, opposing the same Duke Vladislas, after having closed the city, called back Boleslas, the Duke of Opole, as a lord and defender. When he was coming, they welcomed him with great joy, and gave him the keys to all gates. However, the castle of Cracow was still kept by Duke Vladislas and his loyal knights; when he [finally] arrived at Cracow with his strong troops, he surrounded the city and the Duke of Opole who was there. But [the Duke of Opole] could not resist a stranger and he himself opened the city to Duke Vladislas, and taking mayor Albert with him, he returned to his own [lands]. For this dishonourable crime of high treason Duke Vladislas deprived Albert, his sons and his successors of the dignity of mayor of Cracow, as well as of all rights and revenues connected with this dignity. And he commanded to drag with horses and hang outside the city some citizens who were guiltier of the crime [than others].[42]

Both accounts sketch a clear sequence of events, from rebellion against the legitimate ruler to pacification followed by just, severe punishment. The short-term repressions, administered by the betrayed duke, had all the marks of 'edu-

*quam plurimis dampnis civibus, captivato advocato Alberto omnis iniquitatis principio, de civitate recessit, et ad propria remeavit. Et tunc immediate illustrissimus princeps Wladyzlaus civitatem predictam subintrans denuo civium aliquos captivavit carceralique custodie reclusit. Hos captivatos seviter per totam civitatem equis traxit tractosque patibulo extra civitatem miserabiliter suspendit, ibidemque funera tamdiu pendere fecit, quoadusque nervi putrefacti ossium compaginem dissolverunt. Eodemque anno castrum in civitate, destructa domo prefati advocati, construxit et turrim in valva ducente ad sanctum Nicholaum edificavit*" (*Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, *series nova* 5 (Warsaw, 1978), p. 104).

[41] It was edited as the so-called *Annals of Cuyavia*. See the following note and Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa*, p. 200.

[42] "*Revolutis autem sex annis Albertus advocatus et cives Cracovienses iterum se dicto duci Wladislao opponentes, clausa civitate Boleslaum ducem Opolie sibi in dominum et defensorem vocaverunt, quem venientem cum magno gaudio suspicientes, ei claves omnium portarum tradiderunt. Sed castrum Cracoviense per ducem Wladislaum et suos fideles milites tenebatur, qui tandem cum exercitu valido ante Cracoviam veniens, ipsam civitatem et ducem Opoliensem in ea existentem circumvallaverant. At ille potenciori resistere non valens eandem civitatem duci Vladislao apperuit, et solus Alberto advocato recepto ad propria remeavit. Et pro huiusmodi crimine lese maiestatis imio eundem Albertum advocatum, filios et heredes suos dux Wladislaus advocacia Cracoviensi et omnibus redditibus suis et iuribus ad eandem pertinentibus perpetuo privavit; cives autem quosdam, qui culpabiliores huius criminis erant*" (*Rocznik Kujawski*, ed. A. Bielowski, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* 3 (Lwów, 1878) pp. 208-209).

cational violence'. The brutality of corporal punishment and disrespect for the dead bodies of enemies was meant to scare off those who might try the same in the future.[43] The use of these means, together with a spectacular rearrangement of urban space (the demolition of mayor Albert's house and the construction of a ducal castle with a tower in the city) places Duke Vladislas among those medieval rulers who chose to demonstrate their ultimate domination over any urban opposition.[44] Even more painful was the long-term repression, which consisted not only in the suppression of the hereditary function of the town's mayor, but also in the abolishment of the main fiscal and economic liberties of the city.

The account of the *Annals* of the Cracow cathedral chapter reveals one more aspect of the rebellion, which, as time passed, was to become ever more emphasised by medieval chroniclers and modern historians alike. The *Annals* describe the events of 1311-1312 as an episode in the historic struggle between the Polish "*domini naturales*" from the Piast dynasty and the treacherous and always hostile Germans.[45] These tensions seemed to focus on language used in public space, seen as a crucial sign of identity. In the Polish political vocabulary of the first half of the fourteenth century the terms *lingua* and *natio* were used as synonyms.[46] Even in the sixteenth century, in an anonymous annalistic compilation, we can still read:

[43] The preventive character of repressions was well understood by the most eminent Polish chronicler Jan Długosz, writing around 1470: "*Aliquos autem cives Cracovienses sedicionis prefate auctores in horrorem patrati sceleris, ut essent pro exemplari et cautela futurorum, comprehendit et equis per vicos tractos in patibulum aut rotam egit*" (Jan Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, ed. Z. BUDKOWA *et al.* (Warsaw, 1978), lib. IX, a. 1312, pp. 83-84).

[44] See: M. BOONE and H. PORFYRIOU, "Markets, squares, streets: Urban space, a tool for cultural exchange", in: *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, 2, pp. 227-253, at pp. 230-231.

[45] Between 1318 and 1320, a poem *De quodam advocato Cracoviensi Alberto* was composed, describing him as a "true German" – that is, treacherous, false, and always wanting to damage his Polish benefactors (*De quodam advocato Cracoviensi Alberto*, ed. H. KOWALEWICZ, *Pamiętnik Literacki* 56.3 (1965), pp. 125-138).

[46] A good example is the next note in the Annals of Cracow cathedral chapter after the information about the rebellion. It concerns the military victory of Vladislas (by then the king of Poland) over the Teutonic Knights at Płowce, in 1331. The Teutonic Knights, mortal enemies of Polish Kingdom at the time, were presented here as "*conantes exterminare ydioma Polonicum*" (*Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 105).

> In 1332, Albert, the mayor of Cracow, together with his associates submitted, and [then] they were divested of their dignity, and those who could not pronounce "*soczewica, koło, miele, młyn*", were beheaded.[47]

The trustworthiness of this account cannot be taken for granted,[48] but it should not be totally discounted either. Precisely at the period of the Cracow rebellion, in Flanders, before the battle of Courtrai of 1302, the Flemish insurgents were hunting French-speaking enemies, shouting "Whoever speaks French is unreliable: kill them all!"[49] And eruptions of ethnic and linguistic hostility against German settlers in the towns of northern Europe was by no means exceptional.[50] Even if the pronunciation test during the suppression of the revolt is nothing more than a later anecdote, it is clear that in Cracow linguistic hostility went very far indeed.

## *Interference with the Work of the Urban Chancery*

The oldest town book testifies to the turbulence of the years 1311-1312 in a very interesting way, showing ducal interference with the self-government of the urban community. In the book the election of a new town council had been recorded on 5 May 1311. According to some scholars this had triggered the

[47] "*Anno 1332 Albertus advocatus Cracoviensis cum convicibus suis Boleslao duci Opaviensi civitatem Cracoviensem tradiderunt, et privati sunt adocacia, et qui nesciebant dicere soczowycza, koło, myelye młyn decolati sunt omnes*" (*Rocznik Krasińskich*, ed. A. BIELOWSKI, p. 133). The date 1332 is a scribal error.

[48] Cf. P.W. KNOLL, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy: Piast Poland in East Central Europe, 1320-1370* (Chicago and London, 1972), p. 33.

[49] "*wat Walsch es, valsch es: slaet al doot!*" (*Kronyk van Vlaenderen van 580 tot 1467*, ed. C.P. SERRURE and P. BLOMMAERT, 2 vols. (Gent, 1839-1840), 1, p. 155; quoted after R. SLEIDERINK, "From francophile to francophobe: The changing attitude of medieval Dutch authors towards French literature", in: *Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and its Neighbours*, ed. CH. KLEINHENZ and K. BUSBY (Turnhout, 2010), p. 143.

[50] See, e.g. G. DAHLBLÄCK, "Gast oder Bürger? Zur rechtlichen Stellung des deutschen Kaufmanns im mittelalterlichen Sweden", in: *Beiträge zur hansischen Kultur-, Verfassungs- und Schiffahrtsgeschichte*, ed. H. WERNICKE and N. JÖRN (Weimar, 1998: *Hansische Studien* 10), pp. 309-314; K. HELLE, "The Hanseatic merchants in Bergen in the Middle Ages", in: *Bergen and the German Hansa*, ed. I. ØYE (Bergen, 1994), pp. 11-28; F. SCHMIEDER, "Various ethnic and religious groups in medieval German towns? Some evidence and reflections",in: *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation*, pp.15-31, at pp. 23 ff (about Germanophone and Francophone linguistic hostility).

rebellion.[51] The next election, in May 1312, clearly brought in a council hostile to Duke Vladislas.[52] But then the situation changed dramatically. Having taken the city, the angry ruler not only liquidated the function of hereditary mayor, but also dismissed the city council elected a month earlier. Already on 14 June 1312 the election (or rather nomination) of a new body of *scabini* is recorded, with a rather clear explanation that all this happened at the duke's demand:

> In the same year in which the city of Cracow had been returned by the Duke of Opole to our lord Duke Vladislas, afterwards, on St. Vitus Eve, on a Wednesday, were chosen these councillors: Lord Hionce von Dorneburg, Lord Hence von deme Ketzser, Lord Peter Moritz, Lord Vilhelm, Lord Nycolaus von Zauicostz, Lord Vigant von Lupcitz, and Lord Anyles von Muchow, on the orders of Duke Vladislas.
>
> And these are the aldermen: Lord Frixche the scribe, Geras, Hannus Lord Heymanis' son, Michel Grebe, Heyman Edel, Hice von der Suidenitz, and Arnold Sumprister.
>
> *In deme selben Iare, do di stat Cracoue vider wart vnserem heren herchogen Wladislauem gegeben von deme herchogen von Opulle, dar nach an sente Vites abent, an eynme mittevoychen vrden dise ratheren gecorn: Her Hince von Dorneburg, Her hence von deme Ketzser, Her Peter Moritz, Her Vilhelm, Her Nycolaus von Zauicostz, Her Vigant von Lupcitz vnde Her Anyles von Muchow von hercogen Vladizlas gebot.*
>
> *Vnde dis sint dy seppen: her frixche der sriber, geras, Hannus Heren Heymanis sun Moritz, Michel grebe, Heyman edel, Hince von der suidenitz vnde Arnolt sumprister.*[53]

This record and the following records reflect the turbulent times of confiscations and banishments from Cracow, but they continue to be written down in German – until 18 November, that is for five whole months!

[51] The discussion is summarised by M. STARZYŃSKI, *Krakowska rada miejska*, pp. 50 ff.

[52] "*In den Iaren gotis Tusent Driehundirt vnde in deme zwelftem Iare worden dise Ratheren gecorne an deme vritage in de Crucevoychen* [5 May]: *Her Herman von rathibor, her Suderman, Her Petzcholtz von rosna, Her Hence von deme Hoynhuse, Her Nyclas von zavicost, Her Pauel von deme Brige, Her Moritz, Her Peter de bemisse.Vnde dis sint seppen des Selben Iaris: Her vigant won Lupcicz, her Amylis, her Geras, Her Michel grabe, Her Gotfrid der sriber, Her hannus Heren Heymannis sun Moritz, her Heymann virm Edel*" (*Najstarsze księgi i rachunki*, p. 25).

[53] *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki*, pp. 25-26. On the changes in the practice of self-government of the Cracow urban community after the rebellion, see M. STARZYŃSKI, *Krakowska rada miejska*, pp. 61-66.

The already quoted note from 18 November, inserted by a town clerk who is not attested earlier on, Rodger,[54] gives the impression that one wanted to make a fresh start as far as the urban bureaucracy was concerned. However, we do not know if Rodger, the notary, began his office on this very day, or whether he was equally skilled in two languages, and simply passed from German to Latin from one moment to another. Palaeographical analysis does not offer conclusive arguments, but one should allow the possibility that Rodger started his service on this day *because* of the change of language. The argument to support this hypothesis comes from the procedure of introducing a new municipal clerk almost two decades later. When in 1330 a *magister* John succeeded Rodger, the note about in the town book was worded along the same lines as that of 1312 introducing Rodger. Let us look at them together:

> *Hic incipiunt acta Ciuitatis Cracouie et resignationes compilate in latino per Rodgerum notarium civitatis. ...*[55]

> *... Hic incipiunt acta et resignaciones curiarum, domorum et aliarum hereditatum civitatis Cracouie per Iohannem notarium dicte civitatis fideliter in latino conscripta*.[56]

This suggests that in the second decade of the fourteenth century, in the Cracow municipal chancery, there was a division of labour between clerks specialised in the production of records in German and clerks specialised in the production of records in Latin. It seems that linguistic competence played the decisive role in the choice of a new clerk rather than his ethnicity, even if his name strongly suggests that Rodger was of German origin.

It is nevertheless clear that the language change on 18 November was occasioned by the events of the last months, even if it was carried out in rather a hurry, and abruptly. We would expect such a solemn indication of language change ("from now on the civic records of Cracow will be started in Latin ...") would take place not necessarily in a completely new book, but at least on a new page, or at the beginning of a new session of the of aldermen's tribunal. Something must have caused so brusque a change.

[54] This note is the first appearance of Rodger in the sources. He worked as municipal notary until 1330 (WYROZUMSKA, *Kancelaria miasta Krakowa*, p. 116).

[55] *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki*, p. 28.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Recently Bożena Wyrozumska pointed out that an explanation of this peculiar situation might be found in the following notice, recorded in the town book directly after the declaration about the switch to the Latin language.[57] The following entry recorded the confiscation of the possessions of the Cracow citizen Lutek Rove, probably one more person who had been involved in the revolt.

> Item in the same year there was a large tribunal on the octave of the Blessed Martin, when our Lord Duke Venceslas ordered, through Lord Spytko the Cracow hunter, Lutek called Rove to give up, in hereditary right, four and a half manses and half a bequest (*iudicium*) in the village of Brunouicz with half his textile workshop.
>
> *Item in eodem Anno Iudicium magnum fuit in octava beati martini, tunc dominus Dux Wladizlaus per dominum Spitconem venatorem Cracoviensem mandauit Lutconi dicto Roue quatuor mansos et dimidium mansum et medium Iudicium in villa Brunouicz cum media Camera pannorum in Ciuitate Cracouia iure hereditario resignari*.[58]

The confiscation took place at the demand of a special messenger of the duke, who was present in person in the city, and before the tribunal. The ruler's representative in question, Spitco (Spytko), the ducal master of the hunt, is well known from other sources as one of most influential noblemen in the entourage of the duke at the time.[59] We may assume that a few months earlier he had participated in the capture and pacification of Cracow. We can imagine that the sudden change of language of records in the town book happened at his demand.[60] It may have been the result of his astonishment that, after everything that had happened during the last year in Cracow, one still dared to use the German language in the public space.

Equally interesting to us is the fact that, despite the political and linguistic conflict, the clerks of the municipal chancery did not decide to change the language of records on their own initiative. Probably they had not seen any reason for it: German was the language for the kind of literacy they were at-

[57] WYROZUMSKA, *Kancelaria miasta Krakowa*, p. 115.

[58] *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki*, p. 28

[59] See *Urzędnicy małopolscy XII-XV wieku: Spisy*, ed. A. GĄSIOROWSKI (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1990), p. 75; A. MARZEC, *Urzędnicy małopolscy w otoczeniu Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego (1305-1370)* (Cracow, 2006), esp. p. 48-116.

[60] See WYROZUMSKA, *Kancelaria miasta Krakowa*, p. 115.

tempting to create, an *Umgangsprache*, detached from ethnic connotations. However, someone from the ducal castle was bound to find the routine of the tribunal bizarre and deeply inappropriate.[61]

## *Linguistic Conflict and Urban Literacy: The Ambivalent Consequences of the Events of 1311-1312*

The costs of the revolt of 1311-1312 to the urban community of Cracow were high. The reconciliation with the monarchs from the Piast dynasty took a whole generation.[62] Only in 1358 did the son of the betrayed Duke Vladislas, King Kazimir the Great, renew and enlarge the economic liberties of the city.[63] However, the memory of the rebellion remained painful and embarrassing for the urban community. As late as 1398, a troublemaker nobleman publicly insulted the citizens of Cracow of being descendants of traitors of the Polish Crown. The deeply offended town dwellers complained at the royal court so insistently that King Vladislas Jagiellon found it necessary to declare in public that they were not responsible for the crimes of their ancestors, and that the troublemaker should keep his mouth shut.[64]

[61] The whole episode also makes clear a serious lack of communication in Cracow between 'the Castle' and 'the City'. The contrast between the five months of undisturbed continuation of the production of records in German and the speed of events on 18 November shows both the unfamiliarity of the power elite, consisting mostly of noblemen, with the practice of urban literacy and their way of thinking in black-and-white ethnic categories.

[62] For more about reconciliation and collective *memoria* as phases of urban revolts in late medieval Europe, see: M. Boone and H. Porfyriou, "Markets, squares, streets", p. 230.

[63] The charter from 7 December 1358 has been edited as *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa*, No. 32.

[64] The royal charter issued on this occasion is a beautiful example of the recording of a public ceremony in writing. Here one can find the evidence of the reluctant memory of the revolt: "*... Nobilis Petrassius de Sabawa prudentibus viris ciuibus nostre Cracouiensis Ciuitatis illam enormitatis mendam indiderit, qualiter videlicet predecessores eorum quadam swasione furoris quendam Regem et dominum proprium tradidissent, Eumque de regno suo proprio repulissent proditorie malicia cruciante, Quo pacto in modernos Ciues dicte ciuitatis nostre Cracouiensis tanquam in successores Ipsorum infamiam huiusmodi tradicionis affirmauit deuolui et asseruit omnimode redundare. Porro prefati Ciues Cracouienses veliti vituperio et infamie huiusmodi se presumentes innocuos et immunes, obtenta sibi licencia probandi, sufficienti et euidenti testimonio presertim per litteram ... . Kazimiri olim regis Poloniae ... . docuerunt ab huiusmodi facinerosis infamiis et vituperiis suam innocennciam ad plenum probauerunt et efficaciter expurgarunt*" (*Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa*, No. 89.) See also A. Adamska, "Słowo władzy i władza słowa: Język polskich dokumentów monarszych doby średniowiecza", in: *Król w Polsce*

From a long-term perspective, the withdrawal of the German language from the oldest town book of Cracow on 18 November 1312 seems a spontaneous and ostentatious rather than a premeditated act. From the late 1320s onwards, German reappeared in the municipal records of the Cracow agglomeration, especially in the collections of legal decisions of the city council, the so-called *wilkierze* (*Willkür*).[65] The statutes of several guilds were also drafted in German. A special monument to the multilingual character of urban literacy in Cracow is the *necrologium* of the fraternity of the church of St. Mary, which likely started in the 1330s and was kept far into the sixteenth century.[66] German remained its main language, even if it became ever more fossilised, with time changing rather into German *farci* with Polish and Latin.

In the fifteenth century, despite several revivals of linguistic conflict, the German language also returned to the public space. When in 1425 the city of Cracow gave the ceremonial oath of loyalty to the newborn son of King Vladislas Jagiellon, its text was pronounced by the city councillors and repeated by all present members of the urban community in German.[67] This took place in the personal presence of a monarch whose linguistic policy was to contest the use of this language in political communication.[68]

*XIV i XV wieku*, ed. A. MARZEC and M. WILAMOWSKI (Cracow, 2007), pp. 57-88, at pp. 70 ff.

[65] See *Najstarszy zbiór przywilejów i wilkierzy miasta Krakowa*, ed. S. ESTREICHER (Cracow, 1936).

[66] See J. MITKOWSKI, "Księga zmarłych Bractwa kościoła Panny Marii w Krakowie", *Studia Historyczne* 11 (1968), pp. 71-95.

[67] In the account of the ceremony, clearly composed in the urban milieu, the description of taking the oath is preceded by a long record of the discussion between the king and the city council. It is written in Latin, with the use of direct speech. After this comes a moment which is interesting from a linguistic point of view: "*Tunc ergo totus consulatus super ipsas promissiones domini nostri et iussionem dominorum ad crucem auream in manibus episcopi Cracoviensis prestitit iurament sub hac forma: 'Ich swere Gote das ich meyme hirren dem Konige getrew wil sein, alz ich bis doher gewest bin, und noch im, seyme sone dem jungen Wladislao vnd wil den vor eynen herren haben, vnd do got vor sey, ap der abginge, das ich seyner tochter adir anderen seynen erbin in gleycher weyse getrew wil zeyn, und wil dy vor eine fraw haben, alz mir Got helffe vnd dy heiligen'. Post hoc iuravit et tota communitas digitis sublevatis sub eisdem verbis ut iam dictum est*" (*Najstarszy zbiór przywilejów*, No. 17). The socio-cultural context of the ceremony is discussed by M. KOCZERSKA, "Łaska królewska, czyli kontakty władcy z poddanymi w Polsce późnośredniowiecznej", in: *Człowiek w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, ed. R. MICHAŁOWSKI *et al*. (Warsaw, 1997), pp. 437-451, at pp. 441 ff.

[68] See ADAMSKA, Idioma.

## *Conclusion*

From the discussion of the events which took place in Cracow in the years 1311 and 1312 we may conclude the importance of political factors for the daily practice of institutional urban literacy there. It seems that the value of this episode for general discussions about the nature of urban literacy consists in three points.

First, the persecution of the German language in Cracow illustrates that linguistic conflict could move from the domain of speech into that of the written word. Loathing of a language perceived as hostile might result in its exclusion from written communication.

Secondly, the Cracow events clearly show that the choice of a language of record may depend on factors that have nothing to do with the inner mechanisms of literacy. However, the quick return of the German language in at least some domains of urban literacy can be explained by a general experience of the efficiency of this language. Maybe, then, we should abandon the traditional conviction that the use of the German language in urban records in East Central Europe necessarily meant the presence of a German-speaking population. Maybe it was rather the frame of the vernacular legal system that was making German into a kind of *lingua franca* for many of the settlements created according to the so-called German law.[69] In this register of literacy, the use of German may have seemed as appropriate as that of Latin in other registers.[70]

And one final point. The Cracow events from the early fourteenth century teach us as much about the social history of the German language as about the uses of Latin. In this period the Latin language, prestigious and emotionally 'neutral', was still the only alternative for the 'aggressive' and 'foreign' German vernacular when the choice of a language for urban records had to be made. And it was to remain so at least until the early fifteenth century.

[69] Considering the regional perspective, one notices several similarities between areas of urban life which used the German language in the later Middle Ages, especially in Poland and Hungary. In general, German was used for finance, consanguinity, for the technical terminology of many professions, and for boundary clauses. See, e.g. SZENDE, "Integration through language", pp. 210-211; H. SAMSONOWICZ, "Kultura miejska', in: H. SAMSONOWICZ and M. BOGUCKA, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1986), p. 268.

[70] For more on 'appropriate' language in oral and written communication, see ADAMSKA, Idioma.

# Linguistic Tensions between Germans and Natives in Scandinavia Compared to Eastern Europe

ARNVED NEDKVITNE

## *The Problem*

The major Scandinavian towns and the Polish and Livonian towns had in common that from the thirteenth century onwards they had large German-speaking populations.[1] In both areas there were tensions between Germans on the one hand, and native citizens, merchants, and state officials on the other. In Scandinavia these tensions concerned economic rights and privileges, and the way the Germans exercised political power: in Bergen through the *Kontor* and in Swedish towns through the town councils.[2] To my knowledge, there is no suggestion of conflicts concerning the role of the German language in medieval Scandinavian towns with a mixed ethnic population. In Poland and the present-day Baltic states there were also economic and political tensions between Germans and native town dwellers, but these conflicts

[1] See the articles by A. ADAMSKA and A. SELART in this volume.

[2] G. DAHLBÄCK, "The towns", in: *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*,1, *Prehistory to 1520*, ed. K. HELLE (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 611-634, at pp. 620-630.

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 87-97.

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included a linguistic and cultural dimension as well, according to previous articles in this volume by Anna Adamska and Anti Selart. This makes a comparison of the position of the German language in Scandinavian, Polish, and Baltic towns particularly interesting.

This comparison is relevant also in a larger context. In his book *The Making of Europe*, Robert Bartlett has argued that there were strong, language-based cultural tensions on the fringes of medieval Europe – and his examples are drawn from encounters between Arab and Romance speaking peoples in the Mediterranean; Celtic and English / French speakers in the British Isles; and those speaking Slavic and German on Europe's eastern frontier. He did not find similar ethnic tensions based on language in the Western European heartland.[3]

My main line of argument will be that cultural tensions based on language between Germans and Scandinavians in this period were unimportant – without contesting Bartlett's, Adamska's, and Selart's view that language may have been an important issue in Eastern Europe.

## *How Important Was the Linguistic Dimension in the 1312 Rebellion in Cracow?*

The title of Anna Adamska's article in this volume is "Away with the Germans and their language?", which reads almost like a quotation from one of the sources on the rebellion in Cracow in 1312. But as she does not put quotation marks, it is clearly her own summary of what she thinks was an important element in the rebellion. Her conclusion is that

> The Latin language, prestigious and emotionally 'neutral', remained the only alternative for the 'aggressive' and 'foreign' [German] vernacular when the choice of language of urban records had to be made.[4]

She clearly thinks that the tensions in Cracow had a cultural dimension, expressed through language.

Adamska mentions that Prince Boleslas in 1257 gave Cracow an urban law modelled on that of Magdeburg. Following Phillippe Dollinger and Robert

[3] R. BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe* (London, 1993), pp. 197-242.
[4] A. ADAMSKA, in this volume, at p. 85.

Bartlett,[5] this law permitted only Germans to become burghers or citizens of Cracow; the prince specifically excluded the Polish rural population from admittance. He did so partly because he feared depopulation of his own seigniorial estates, and partly because German merchants were better connected to international trading networks. Citizenship was important because only persons who had been formally accepted as citizens could legally participate in trade and certain other economic activities. This law was not changed until 1316. An alternative interpretation of the conflict in 1312 could be that the Polish prince had invited German merchants and craftsmen to settle in his town to strengthen his own finances and gain allies against competing Polish noble clans. But this would mean that the Germans were enlisted as allies in struggles between warring Polish factions, and the German language could be used as an argument to attract support to the other side. Was the prime target of the re-established Polish prince in 1312 really the Germans and their exclusionary language and culture? But had it not been a Polish prince who had denied the native Poles full access to citizenship? Was the German language in itself seen as a practical tool which was emotionally neutral? Did language only become controversial when it was made a symbol for conflicts?

I shall leave a discussion as to the motives behind the rebellion in Cracow to others. My concern here is to explain why there seem to have been less linguistic tensions in Scandinavia.

## *Oral Communication around the North Sea*

Before 1066, all peoples who were settled around the North Sea spoke languages belonging to the Germanic family of languages. After 1066, the situation changed as the English elite began speaking French.

There is today consensus among linguists and historians of culture that people speaking Germanic languages around the North Sea were able to understand each other using their own language in the Middle Ages. This is the same way of communicating as is practised between Scandinavians today. When talking to a Dane, I speak Norwegian, but I speak more slowly and distinctly than I usually do, and I avoid using typically Norwegian words which I know do not exist in Danish. With some experience, it is not difficult to speak Nor-

[5] Cf. P. DOLLINGER, *La hanse (XIe-XVIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1964), pp. 47-48, 158; BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 179-180, 209.

wegian and be understood by a Dane, and if they adapt to the situation in the same way as I do, then I will understand them. This is what linguists call semi-understanding or semi-communication.[6]

There is solid evidence for this type of communication around the North Sea. An Icelandic saga written about 1250 provides the following information about the language situation in England *c.* 1000 AD:

> The language (*tunga*) in England then [1000 AD] was the same as in Norway and Denmark. But the languages (*tungur*) changed in England when William the Bastard conquered it. From then on French became current in England, because he was from France.[7]

The saga's author says that Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse were the same language. He is evidently thinking of oral communication, as the spoken word belonged to the same language when the two languages were mutually intelligible.

This is confirmed by another saga describing a Norwegian who fled after the defeat of the Norwegian army at Stamford Bridge in 1066. He met a peasant on his way and tried to conceal his identity, but the peasant said: "you're a Norwegian, I can tell that from your speech" (*mál*).[8] The two were able to communicate, but the dialect or language differences were so evident that the Anglo-Saxon peasant was able to identify the home country of his conversation partner.

There is evidence that this was how Hansa merchants and Scandinavians communicated orally in Bergen and other Scandinavian towns. The difference between *Mittelniederdeutsch* and the Scandinavian languages as spoken from 1250 to 1550 was smaller than between *Hochdeutsch* and the modern Scandinavian languages. In Novgorod the Hansa merchants used translators, but there is no evidence of translators in Bergen or other Scandinavian towns. A comprehensive correspondence between the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bergen and the town councils in Lübeck and other Hanseatic towns has been preserved. Here the

[6] E.H. JAHR, "Sociolinguistics in historical language contact: The Scandinavian languages and Low German during the Hanseatic period", in: *Language Change: Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics* ed. E.H. JAHR (Berlin and New York, 1999), pp. 119-139, at p. 129.

[7] *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*, ed. S. NORDAL and G. JONSSON, in: *Islenzk Fornrit* 3 (Reykjavik, 1938), p. 70; M. TOWNEND, *Language and History in Viking Age England* (Turnhout, 2002), p. 150. *Gunnlaug ormstungu* visited the court of king Ethelred II, who died in 1016.

[8] Snorri Sturluson, *The saga of Harald Hardradi* (part of his *Heimskringla*), c. 94, trans. M. MAGNUSSON and H. PÁLSSON, *King Harald's Saga* (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 154.

organisation in Bergen, mentioning numerous full-time and part-time officials, gives no indication of a translator. There is no evidence of a pidgin language – that is, a simplified language using words from both languages. Also lacking from the sources is any indication of language problems. There is no mention of people having learnt the other language as a foreign language, or of their being able to speak the other language. This is easy to understand if they in fact spoke their own language when communicating with the other group.[9]

There are a huge number of loanwords from *Mittelniederdeutsch*, or Middle Low German, in the Scandinavian languages; this is natural if Scandinavian town dwellers became used to listening to Hansa merchants speaking Low German. In Bergen the local dialect had many more Low German loanwords than in the rest of Norway, which remained the case up to the nineteenth century. Today many of these dialect words have disappeared.[10]

Our modern distinction between 'language' and 'dialect' is primarily relevant in a situation where there are written traditions for vernacular languages. Two different orthographic and grammatical norms for writing correctly yield two languages. Consequently, Danish and Norwegian are today seen as two different languages. If two persons write according to the same norm but speak differently, there will be two dialects. An illiterate person will only distinguish between people who he can understand orally, and those he cannot. People who understood each other in Old Norse were said to belong to the same *tunga*, which had as its basic meaning 'the tongue in the mouth'.[11]

What was the social and cultural result of this extensive oral semi-communication? When both ethnic groups spoke their own language, there was no reason to understand German as superior to the Scandinavian languages. In cultural contacts the inferior group normally has to learn the language of the

[9] K. BRAUNMÜLLER, "Formen des Sprachkontakts und der Mehrsprachigkeit zur Hansezeit", in: *Niederdeutsch und die skandinavischen Sprachen*, ed. K. BRAUNMÜLLER, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1993-1995), 2, pp. 9-33, pp. 14-25; JAHR, "Sociolinguistics in historical language contact", pp. 131-135.

[10] A. NESSE, "Flerspråklige kilder fra Bergen", in: *Folkmålsstudier: Meddelanden från Föreningen för nordisk filologi* 47 (2009), pp. 109-132, at p. 119; EAD., "Die Geschichte der Stadtmundart in Bergen (Norwegen) mit besonderem Augenmerk auf den Kontakt mit dem Mittelniederdeutschen", *Niederdeutsches Wort: Beiträge zur niedrdeutschen Philologie* 49 (2009), pp. 31-40.

[11] K. BRAUNMÜLLER, "Zu den sprachlichen Verhältnissen und Kommunikationsformen in Nordeuropa im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit", in: *Neue Studien zum Archiv und zur Sprache der Hanseaten*, ed. G.A. ERSLAND and M. TREBBI (Bergen 2008), pp. 127-141, at pp. 132-135; The modern English word 'language' of course has the same etymological root as the Norse word *tunga*, from French *langue*.

superior group, but not vice versa. This situation did not arise in Scandinavia. The Scandinavians never learnt Low German in the same way as they learnt French or Latin. There was linguistic equality between Scandinavians and Hansa merchants on the oral level.

## *Private Written Communication*

From *c.* 1250, Hansa merchants started to use written accounts and correspondence to organise their trade.[12] From *c.* 1400 Scandinavian merchants followed suit.[13] Merchants of both ethnic groups residing in Scandinavian towns used their mother tongue when writing, and this posed no problem

In 1541 a merchant born in Rostock but resident in Oslo issued a quittance written in Low German to a Norwegian peasant (or perhaps a small landowner?) from the rural district of Gudbrandsdal. This presupposes that the Norwegian was able to read the German text, or that someone in his local community could read it for him.[14]

In 1539 a Dutch merchant called Henrik Hollander died in Oslo, and three burghers in Oslo were appointed to read his account books and make excerpts from them to find out how much the captain of Akershus castle owed to Henrik's heirs. Two of the appointed burghers had Scandinavian names, and one had a German name. They started their letter of evidence by telling us that the account books were "written in the Hollandish language, but to us well understandable, and the meaning is the same as that which we shall now write in Danish". They end their letter by repeating that the account books were "without erasures or blots of ink and written with Henrik Hollander's own hand in the Hollandish language, but to us well understandable".[15] By emphasising twice that they understood the text, they give the impression that it was not a matter of course that they should do so. But the German and Scandinavian burghers in question knew this type of documents and were able to read them.

[12] A. VON BRANDT, "Ein Stück kaufmännischer Buchführung aus dem letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts", in: *Lübeck, Hanse, Nordeuropa: Gedächtnisschrift für Ahasver von Brandt*, ed. K. FRIEDLAND and R. SPRANDEL (Cologne, 1979), pp. 308-335, at pp. 308-309.

[13] A. NEDKVITNE, *The Social Consequences of Literacy in Medieval Scandinavia* (Turnhout, 2004: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 11), pp. 179-184.

[14] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 22 vols., ed. C.C.A. LANGE *et al.* (Oslo, 1849-1995), 13, No. 666.

[15] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* 2, No. 1127.

In 1445, a court case occurred in Oslo between one Norwegian and two German merchants. The three gave oral testimony before the court proceedings started, in the presence of four burghers of Oslo, two with Norwegian and two with German names. The burghers' letter of evidence was written in Low German, evidently penned by the two German burghers. The procedure takes for granted that the Norwegians involved in the case were able to read the Low German text.[16]

To conclude, both in private correspondence and accounting merchants used their own language, and what was written could be read by the other group. In towns with citizens of both ethnic groups, the courts could use written evidence without language problems.

## *Administrative Literacy of State and Town*

Poland and Scandinavia had in common that the main force behind the introduction of a secular, administrative literacy was the judiciary – the writing of laws, charters, verdicts, evidence from witnesses, etc. But there were also important differences which are relevant for our subject.

As far back as we can determine, in Scandinavia local Thing assemblies were held in towns and in the countryside, with their oral laws and oral procedures. Gradually written elements were introduced into this oral legal tradition. This same development started in Norway when Anglo-Saxon clerics began writing down in the Norse vernacular the new Christian laws imported from England and some traditional, oral and secular laws around 1030-1040. After 1100, charters started to be written all over Scandinavia: in Denmark and Sweden in Latin, in Norway in the vernacular. In Norway, these charters from the oldest period are simply descriptions of oral procedures written in the vernacular. There was a development in which traditional, oral law and oral procedures were slowly modernised by the emerging state through the introduction of written procedures to suit the needs of a state society.

The central state administration around the king began writing letters in Latin in all three countries around 1000 AD, with the help of the Church's clerics. When the Danish royal chancery was institutionalised in the twelfth century and the Swedish in the thirteenth, both used Latin from the start as their main language. Sweden switched to the vernacular after 1350, Denmark

[16] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* 2, No. 764.

somewhat later, after 1400. The Norwegian chancery used the vernacular in its internal correspondence from its beginning in the thirteenth century, and Latin for correspondence to foreign addressees.[17] When Germans started to become numerous in Scandinavian towns after 1250, and particularly after 1350, Scandinavia had solid traditions of administrative literacy in both Latin and the Scandinavian vernaculars.

Bergen in the late Middle Ages had *c.* 7000 permanent inhabitants.[18] A thousand of them were German merchants and craftsmen.[19] In internal matters the Germans had their own courts using German law, while the Norwegians used Norwegian law. When there was a conflict between a German and a Norwegian, Norwegian law and courts would be used. The Germans never argued that Norwegian law should be replaced by German law. Instead they sought exemptions or privileges from Norwegian law.[20]

Both the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bergen and the town council in Lübeck wrote in Low German to the local Norwegian authorities in Bergen. The latter wrote in Norwegian to the *Kontor* in Bergen, but in Low German to the town council in Lübeck. This may have been because they knew that the Germans in Bergen understood Norwegian, but were uncertain whether the councillors in Lübeck did so. But this may also have been a 'politically motivated' translation; that is, it may have been meant as a show of respect to the councillors in Lübeck.[21]

The German language was particularly strong in Denmark. Here, Hansa merchants were not the main force promoting the Low German language. The Danish royal family was German for most of the period from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and as late as the eighteenth century most of the royal family and the court nobility had German as their first language.[22] From the thirteenth century onwards there was a considerable immigration of German peasants into Denmark, and the language frontier was pushed northwards into the Danish duchy of Schleswig. The German-speaking county of Holstein

[17] NEDKVITNE, *The Social Consequences of Literacy*, pp. 68 and 168. The whole development is described in more detail *ibid.*, pp. 75-104.

[18] K. HELLE, *Bergen bys historie* (Bergen, 1982), pp. 487-492.

[19] A. NEDKVITNE, *The German Hansa and Bergen* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2014: *Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte: Neue Folge* 70), pp. 374-381.

[20] NEDKVITNE, *The German Hansa and Bergen*, pp. 296-331.

[21] A. NESSE, "Bilingual texts from a bilingual city", in: *Neue Studien zum Archiv und zur Sprache der Hanseaten*, pp. 47- 64, at p. 52.

[22] V. WINGE, "Dansk og tysk i 1700-tallet", in: *Dansk identitetshistorie*, ed. O. FELDBÆK, 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1991-1992), 1, pp. 89-110, at p. 92.

became part of the Danish king's realm from 1460. After 1350 many prominent clerics visited German universities, particularly those of Rostock and Greifswald. This was so not only in Denmark, but also in Sweden and Norway.[23]

The urban administration in this southern area normally used Low German as its administrative language. Many guilds with a mixed membership wrote their statutes in German, even in towns further north. High and low state officials with their origins in Schleswig and Holstein had Low German as their mother tongue. From the seventeenth century at the latest, German became the language of command in the army.[24] From *c.* 1500 the Danish central administration had a German chancery, due to the fact that a large part of the Danish population was in fact German-speaking. As late as 1699, roughly 20% of the population of Copenhagen had German as their first language, and linguistic purists complained that many people, particularly soldiers and craftsmen, spoke a language which was a mixture of Danish and German.[25] Up to *c.* 1750 the Danish realm was held together through loyalty to a common king, and not through a common language or ethnic identity.[26]

The Swedish urban law from *c.* 1350 gave German citizens half of the seats in town councils. If there were not enough German candidates to fill the quota, the remaining seats were to be filled with Swedes, but the same would not apply if there was a deficit of Swedes. The town's clerk or scribe should always be "Swedish and not a foreigner". The law defined a German as a person who had a German father. The German citizens were given a say in urban government, but there was to be no majority of them on the council, and the administrative language was to be Swedish.[27] The Swedish royal family was German from 1364 to 1389, and between 1397 and 1521 Sweden was for long periods in a union with Denmark, which at that time had a German royal family.

In summary, there were no linguistic conflicts between Scandinavians and Germans over the administrative language in towns, because there was already

[23] WINGE, "Dansk og tysk i 1700-tallet", pp. 89-90; *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, 22 vols. (Copenhagen, 1956-1978), 12, col. 276, s.v. "*Nedertysk sprog*".

[24] WINGE, "Dansk og tysk i 1700-tallet", pp. 92 and 101.

[25] WINGE, "Dansk og tysk i 1700-tallet", pp. 91 and 98.

[26] WINGE, "Dansk og tysk i 1700-tallet", p. 102.

[27] Magnus Eriksson's town law, ed. in: *Corpus Iuris Sueo-Gothorum Antiqui: Samling af Sveriges gamla lagar*, ed. H.S. COLLIN and C.J. SCHLYTER, 13 vols. (Stockholm, 1827-1877), 11, *Konungsbalken* § 2 and 6; trans. into modern Swedish: *Magnus Erikssons stadslag i nusvensk tolkning*, trans. Å. HOLMBÄCK and E. WESSEN (Stockholm, 1966), *Konungsbalken* § 2 and 6.

a well-functioning judiciary using written procedures in Latin and the vernacular when the Germans arrived. German was the administrative language in some Danish towns, but this was seen as a practical measure because the population had German as their mother tongue.

German immigration came earlier in Poland, from around 1200. At that time Polish secular law had yet to be written. Polish-language state laws were not put into writing until *c.* 1350.[28] The Baltic languages were not used for written laws or other written material in courts of justice in the medieval period.[29] The Germans brought with them the written urban laws of Magdeburg, Lübeck and other German towns to the newly founded towns in Poland and on the eastern shores of the Baltic. These law codices were more relevant to urban communities than Polish law would have been; first because they were written, and secondly because they were adapted to life in towns. The local princes granted to the German citizens the right to use German law and German as their administrative language. This created a potential for conflict over the position of German as a judicial and administrative language.

## *Did Tensions between Germans and Natives Have a Linguistic and Cultural Dimension?*

Since the nationalistic Romantic era from the decades around 1800, we have come to see language as the most important identity marker of an ethnic group. Was it seen in that way by medieval Northern European town dwellers? Or did they instead understand their language as a practical tool without emotional and existential overtones?

In Scandinavia there is today consensus that the tensions between the Hansa and local merchants were economic and political, not cultural and linguistic. That may have been different in Slavic-speaking areas. Anti Selart in his article in this volume has argued that linguistic differences corresponded to important social tensions in Livonian society. Native Livonians came to see the German language as a symbol of social oppression. Combining our results from

[28] "... in Poland written law became possible only in the middle of the fourteenth century" (A. ADAMSKA, "The introduction of writing in Central Europe", in: *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. M. MOSTERT (Turnhout, 1999: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 1), pp. 165-189, at p. 179).

[29] See article by A. SELART in this volume.

Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, one could argue that language in normal circumstances was seen as a practical tool. But already in the Middle Ages, in certain circumstances language could acquire a symbolic value for something else; in this case, for social oppression. But whether Anti Selart and Anna Adamska are correct in saying that the German language had already acquired this symbolic function in the Middle Ages in parts of Eastern Europe is an empirical question which must be verified.

An alternative type of hypothesis is that the difference between our conclusions should be understood against the background of historiographical traditions in our respective countries. In the last centuries Poland and the Baltic had problematic relationships with their powerful neighbours. The Scandinavian states have not really experienced the same kind of problems, with the exception of the German occupation of Denmark and Norway during the World War II. Is it possible that this has made Polish and Baltic historians more inclined to interpret conflict situations as manifestations of deep and long-lasting cultural and linguistic tensions, while Scandinavian historians are more inclined to interpret conflicts as superficial clashes of economic and political interests of a kind which will always exist both within states and between states?

I leave the question open for discussion. Evidently there were important and real differences between the two regions discussed here – unless this also is a question of interpretation.

# Cyrillic and Latin Script in Late Medieval Vilnius

JAKUB NIEDŹWIEDŹ

Vilnius is located in northeastern Europe.[1] Throughout the period in question, i.e. the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it used to be the capital and one of the biggest cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The country will be referred to simply as Lithuania. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania should not, however, be identified with Lithuania as it is today, because at the beginning of the sixteenth century it used to spread from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea and was one of the biggest countries in Europe – hence the unique importance of its capital city. Its former territory today includes Lithuania (The Republic of Lithuania), Belarus, parts of Poland, and Ukraine. A sense of attachment to the heritage of former Lithuania can still be felt in all four countries. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania had been united with the Kingdom of Poland since the end of the fourteenth century and had been ruled by the Jagiellonian dynasty, which originated in Lithuania. At the beginning of the

[1] There are different versions of the name of the Lithuanian capital in different languages: Latin *Vilna*, Polish *Wilno*, Belarussian *Вільня*, Old-Ruthenian *Вильна*, Yiddish ענליוו, Hebrew הנליו, German *Wilna*, Russian *Вильна*. I have decided to use the official contemporary Lithuanian name: Vilnius.

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 99-116.

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sixteenth century the federation started to be referred to as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

This paper focuses on the late Middle Ages, which in Lithuania lasted throughout the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. We are interested in the reigns of three Jagiellonian Kings of Poland and Grand Dukes of Lithuania: Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk [Casimir IV Jagiellon] (1427-1492), Aleksander Jagiellończyk [Alexander Jagiellon] (1461-1506), and Zygmunt I Stary [Sigismund I the Old] (1467-1548). By virtue of the agreement which had established a personal union, all of them were sovereigns of both Poland and Lithuania.[2] Lithuanian civilisation made significant progress during their reigns, and Vilnius itself underwent a number of changes. The clash between 'Eastern' and 'Western' as well as 'medieval' and 'modern' literacy was one of the most important aspects of those changes. Due to the unique character of the region, the terms used above are not fully adequate as, in principle, they refer to *Latinitas*, the western part of Europe. In the fifteenth century, however, Lithuania was only starting to participate in the culture of the West.

Vilnius lies on the border between several cultures. At the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, just as today, it was a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-religious city. It was established in the 1320s by Gedyminas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania.[3] In the beginning it resembled other Ruthenian cities,[4] with wooden buildings, some Eastern Orthodox churches, and irregular networks of streets running along trade routes. A western European city charter was granted to Vilnius only at the end of the fourteenth century. A Catholic diocese was founded in 1398, followed by an Orthodox bishopric in 1415.[5]

[2] The period 1492-1501, when Poland and Lithuania had two different sovereigns, was an exception.

[3] There is no modern monograph on the history of the city. Two studies from the first half of the nineteenth century are: M. BALIŃSKI, *Historia miasta Wilna*, 1, *Zawierający dzieje Wilna od założenia miasta aż do roku 1430* (Vilnius, 1836); J.I. KRASZEWSKI, *Wilno od początków jego do r. 1750*, 4 vols. (Vilnius, 1841); and one from the times of the Soviet Union is: J. JURGINIS, V. MERKYS, and A. TAUTAVIČIUS, *Vilniaus miesto istorija nuo seniausių laikų iki Spalio revoliucijos* (Vilnius, 1968). Two monographs about early modern Vilnius appeared recently: J. NIEDŹWIEDŹ, *Kultura literacka Wilna (1323-1655): Retoryczna organizacja miasta* (Cracow, 2012) and D. FRICK, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno* (Ithaca and London, 2013).

[4] D. FRICK, "Wstęp", in: *Wilnianie: Żywoty siedemnastowieczne*, ed. D. FRICK (Warsaw, 2008), pp. XVII-XVIII.

[5] M.B. НІКОЛАЕЎ, *Кніжная культура Вялікага Княства Літоўскага* (Minsk, 2009), p. 53.

Alexander Jagiellon (1461-1506), who had become a Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1492, made Vilnius his main seat. The city became the political and administrative centre of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the main centre of the Lithuanian Catholic Church and one of the most important centres of the Orthodox Church, and also a commercial and cultural centre. During the reign of Alexander the building of city walls began, a mint was established, and ever more stone buildings were being erected, including brick built Gothic-style churches. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were sixteen Orthodox and seven Catholic churches. In the reign of Alexander's successor, Sigismund I the Old (1506-1548), in the 1520s and 1530s, the city walls were finished, and a bridge over the Wilia was built, as well as waterworks, a foundry, a glassworks, a paper mill, and the first printing house of Franciscus Skoryna (Francisk Skaryna), publishing liturgical Orthodox books. The city comprised a large area – within the city walls there were *c*. 80 ha – and could have counted as many as ten thousand inhabitants.

During this period the population of Vilnius included Lithuanians, Ruthenians (today Belarusians), Poles, Germans, Jews, Tatars, and Karaims. Each of these ethnic groups used their own language, which could be heard out in the streets. At the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, a different set of languages was used in official (i.e. political and religious) discourse. Official languages, in which most documents were written, included Ruthenian and Latin. The languages of religion included Latin, Church Slavonic, Hebrew, and Arabic. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Polish language grew in importance as regards both political and religious discourse, and began to supplant Latin and Ruthenian. The official languages mentioned above, especially Latin, Ruthenian, and Church Slavonic, were at the same time written languages. However, we must remember that written languages were not identical to spoken ones, and they were to some extent artificial constructs; this applies particularly to written Ruthenian.[6]

Four types of script were most commonly used in Vilnius at the time: Latin, Cyrillic, Hebrew, and Arabic. Latin script was used not only for Latin, but also for German and Polish. The Hebrew and Arabic scripts were only affiliated with two ethnic and religious groups; they were used to a relatively

[6] We can also observe similar differences in distant cultural and spacial circumstances. Cf. J. GOODY, *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 258-289; M.T. CLANCHY, *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1993), p. 206-211.

limited extent. Furthermore, there was no Jewish community in Vilnius before 1514.[7] This could be the reason why so few records of their presence in the Grand Duchy during the period in question have been preserved until the present day. The Cyrillic and Latin scripts, on the other hand, were very widely used, as they reflected the official political languages of the country – this is true particularly of the Cyrillic script. Both scripts had a few varieties, e.g. the Ruthenian *skoropis* and late gothic minuscule, which will be discussed below.

The co-existence of two different types of script within one city or one country was hardly a common situation in late medieval Europe. It may be possible to observe similar phenomena in the Balkans, Cyprus, Spain, and earlier in Norman Sicily, where Eastern and Western Christianity also came into contact.[8] The co-existence of two equivalent scripts used in the capital city of a vast country is, however, an unprecedented phenomenon in medieval Europe. This is why Vilnius is a case worth analysing. Questions concerning writing and literacy in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Vilnius and include: what functions did writing have? How did writing manifest itself in the urban space of the time? Who used writing, and to what extent? How far did the impact of each type of script reach? What determined the choice of a given type of script? How can we describe the co-existence or conflict of two scripts representing two cultures, and does such a binary approach really help us to understand the Vilnius phenomenon? The questions constitute an area of future research; in this paper we will expand upon only a few of them.

The fragmentary nature of existing sources is a major obstacle to the analysis of the scripts used in Vilnius. Over the past few centuries Vilnius has been destroyed and rebuilt many times, so both epigraphic material and paper documents are scarce. Almost all sixteenth-century inscriptions decorating the walls of Eastern Orthodox churches were destroyed as a result of the reconstruction of Gothic and Baroque-style temples which was conducted in the nineteenth century during the Russian occupation, with the intention of imparting a Russian Imperial style to the old Orthodox churches of Vilnius. Many hypotheses

[7] I. COHEN, *History of the Jews in Vilna* (Philadelphia, 1943), pp. 3-4; K. PIETKIEWICZ, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie pod rządami Aleksandra Jagiellończyka* (Poznań, 1995), p. 163; D. KATZ, *Lithuanian Jewish Culture* (Vilnius, 2004), p. 63.

[8] L. BALETTO, "Ethnic groups, cross-social and cross-cultural contacts on fifteenth-century Cyprus", in: *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. B. ARBEL (London and Portland, 1996), pp. 35-48; L.P. HARVEY, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (Chicago and London 2005), pp. 126-167; A. METCALFE, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (London, 2003), pp. 45-79.

must therfore be tested on the basis of historical sources preserved in other Polish and Lithuanian cities.

In Vilnius, just as in all European cities in the late Middle Ages, the level of literacy varied. The majority of inhabitants knew little about reading and writing. In spite of that, almost all city dwellers dealt with writing at least to some extent, even if their writing or reading skills were minimal or non-existent. Much depended on one's social, professional, religious, or – to a lesser extent – ethnic group. An ordinary craftsman, for example, could at most recognise the difference between Cyrillic and Latin scripts, and his familiarity with Ruthenian script was surely much less noticeable. Writing was of greater importance to clergymen and officials. We do know, however, that they used writing in a different manner. An Orthodox clergyman would most likely have had difficulty with Latin script because of his ignorance of Latin, whereas a Roman Catholic priest presumably would have been able to read in Ruthenian as it was a living language understood by the majority of the population.

At the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a considerable part of the population of Vilnius used an assortment of documents. Since the second half of the fifteenth century major transactions carried out in Vilnius were certified with entries in books kept by various administrative or judicial institutions. Not only was the city within the jurisdiction of the municipal authorities, but its constituant parts were under control of the Vilnian cathedral chapter and the burgrave of the Vilnian Castle (*horodniczy*). Outside the municipal authorities' jurisdiction were the clergy and the gentry. The latter dwelt in the city in quite large numbers. In the late medieval Vilnius one could have pointed out several complexes of official books kept by several institutions:

- books of the city council and those of the *magdeburgensis* court, in which records concerning the *jurydyka magdeburska* (*magdeburgensis*) were kept (i.e. the area of municipal jurisdiction); these were stored in the Vilnian town hall and written in Latin;
- books of the Royal Castle jurisdiction (*jurydyka zamkowa*), stored in the Lower Castle, written first in Latin and then in Polish;
- books of the Vilnian cathedral chapter – written only in Latin; stored in the archives of the Cathedral;
- books of the noble castle court of Vilnius (*sąd grodzki*) – books of entries (*libri inscriptionum*), which registered, *inter alia*, transactions of the gentry; they were written in Ruthenian and stored in the Lower Castle;

- books of the *Lithuanian Metrica* – the main state archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania kept by the chancery of the Grand Duke; stored since 1511 in the treasury in the Lower Castle and written in Ruthenian.[9]

However, even those books which were written in Latin or Polish include numerous Ruthenian entries. As Ruthenian was an official language at that time it had the widest application; it is even found in records concerning members of the Latin Vilnian cathedral chapter. Therefore, in Cyrillic could be written such diverse documents as the correspondence between the Vilnian bishop and the Grand Duke's chancery and transactions between the chapter and its subjects. A document from 1543, for instance, certifies that Jan Myszkowski, "a tailor, burgher and subject to his grace the Bishop of Vilnius" sold a part of his land to the Vilnian archdeacon Józef Jasiński. Despite both of them being Catholics who spoke Polish, the document certifying the sale was made out in Ruthenian rather than in Latin or Polish.[10]

The vast majority of documents issued by the chancery of the Grand Duke in Vilnius were written in Ruthenian. Ever more of them were produced over the course of time, especially during the reigns of Alexander Jagiellon and Sigismund I the Old. Copies of numerous charters issued for the city and individual inhabitants have been preserved. The number of entries made in all the mentioned books is so large that it must be assumed that using a Ruthenian and Latin document or text must have been common in Vilnius at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The evidence in favour of this opinion are the partially preserved sixteenth-century copies of the city court books, in which confirmations of sales of properties from 1487 to 1521 are found. Among them there is a deed from 5 July 1499 confirming that Jadwiga, the wife of Michna Jurkowicz, sold meadowlands on the outskirts of Antokol. Although the document was entered in the court books, which are almost entirely in Latin; its text is written in Ruthenian using the Cyrillic alphabet.[11]

[9] P. KENNEDY GRIMSTED, "Introduction", in: *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw: Reconstructing the Archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Including An Annotated Edition of the 1887 Inventory Compiled by Stanisław Ptaszycki*, ed. P. KENNEDY GRIMSTED and I. SUŁKOWSKA-KURASIOWA (Cambridge, MA, 1994), p. 11.

[10] MS Vilnius, University (Vilniaus universtiteto biblioteka, hereafter: VUB), F4-18400. On the other hand we have accounts that not every Vilnian canon could write in Ruthenian. In such cases it was necessary to employ a professional Ruthenian scribe.

[11] MS Vilnius, Lithuanian State Historical Archives (Lietuvos Valstybes Istorijos Archyvas, hereafter: LVIA), F22, ap. 1, nr 5333, p. 14v.

Ruthenian documents were created under the influence of similar Latin documents, so they contain similar parts and phrasing. Particular attention should be paid to the *publicatio* formula used from the beginning of the fifteenth century in documents made out by the chancellery of the Grand Duke: "the contents of this document are hereby made available to those who see it or hear it when read out loud".[12] This is a standard formula, but since the language of the document was commonly understood, the expected range of impact must have been wide. Writing was used for reading, looking at, and listening to. It is worth noting that in Lithuanian documents written in Latin this formula is not found.

The highest level of text production was found among the best qualified, sometimes university-educated secretaries employed in the chancery of the Grand Duke. They knew several languages and used a variety of scripts. According to the records, in such offices there were even specialised sections working only with Ruthenian or Latin texts. During the reign of Alexander Jagiellon, the Ruthenian unit was led by Fedko Hryhorewicz and its Latin counterpart by Erazm Ciołek.[13] Clerks knowing Tatar also worked in the office. In other institutions producing documents there were fewer clerks: one worked for the chapter, and a few were employed by the magistracy. The clerks created original documents, but copies of these were given out for a fee to all interested parties.

The second group of people having significant writing qualifications were clergymen. In 1502 the list of members of the Catholic chapter contained fourteen people, six of whom held a master's degree and one of whom was even a doctor.[14] It is known that Vilnian Observants, among whom there were several scholars from the milieu of the University in Cracow, produced various texts since the end of the fifteenth century (among others the poet Marian of Jezior-

[12] MS Vilnius, Martynas Mažvydas Lithuanian National Library (Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka, hereafter: LNB), F93-484.

[13] PIETKIEWICZ, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie*, p. 30.

[14] "*Albertus, episcopus Vilnensis; Erasmus Vitellinus, praepositus; Magister Jacobus de Kuczyno, decanus; Martinus, episcopus Medniczensis, archidiaconus; Magister Stanislaus, custos; Prelati et canonici: Martinus de Radom; Magister Georgius; Magister Andreas Szwÿrskÿ; Doctor Joannes Philipowicz; Magister Bernardus; Joannes de Dobrzÿnÿcze; Casparus de Varschowia; Nicolaus Zukowskÿ; Valentinus Kucharskÿ.*" MS Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius (MS Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka (hereafter: LMAB)), F43-210/01 (Acts of the Vilnian Chapter 1502-1533), f. 2r. Provost Erazm Ciołek (*Vitellinus*) also had the title of master; this was not mentioned in the list.

ko, the preacher Mikołaj of Sokolnik, and the chronicler Jan of Komorów).[15] There are less data about scribes from within the Orthodox Church in Vilnius, although preserved copies of liturgical books confirm that scriptoria were run there.[16] It can be assumed that in 1483 Waśka, a clerk of chancellor Mikołaj Radziwiłłowicz, copied the encyclopedic work *Pritotchnik* in Vilnius. From 1502 a scribe called Matvei Desatyi worked on the collection of liturgical and biblical texts *Desataglav*, finished in the monastery in Supraśl in 1507. A copy of the Pentateuch, completed in Vilnius in 1514 by Fiedor, a cleric of the Orthodox metropolitan Bishop Józef Sołtan, was moved to Supraśl as well.[17]

Some inhabitants of Vilnius who were not clergymen probably were able to read and even to write. Teaching could have been provided in Ruthenian schools working alongside the main Orthodox churches, probably at the Holy Virgin Cathedral, and in one of the two Latin schools, about which there is additional information. A Latin cathedral school (*stubella*) in which the Franciscans taught is mentioned by an envoy of the Teutonic Knights in 1391.[18] In 1453 the vice-chancellor of this school received an endowment from Casimir IV Jagiellon. Despite early opposition from the Catholic chapter, the second Latin school arose in 1513 at the main parish church of Vilnius, dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, where twenty-two pupils may have been taught.[19]

[15] Cz. BOGDALSKI, *Bernardyni w Polsce 1453-1530*, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1933), 1, p. 265; Jan z Komorowa, *Memoriale Fratrum Minorum a fr. Ioanne de Komorowo compilatum*, ed. K. LISKE and A. LORKIEWICZ, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* 5 (Lwów, 1888), pp. 1-418; W. PABIN, "Książka rękopiśmienna w środowisku bernardyńskim do połowy XVI wieku: Zarys problematyki księgoznawczej", in: *Z badań nad polskimi księgozbiorami historycznymi: Książka rękopiśmienna XV-XVII w.*, ed. B. BIEŃKOWSKA (Warsaw, 1980), pp. 91-105, at p. 102; T. MICHAŁOWSKA, *Średniowiecze* (Warsaw, 1995), p. 386; W. WYDRA, "Piśmiennictwo bernardynów do roku 1555. Próba charakterystyki", in: *Franciszkańskie w* Polsce, 2.1, *Franciszkanie w Polsce XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. H. GAPSKI and C. S. NAPIÓRKOWSKI (Niepokalanów, 1998), pp. 306-319, at p. 310.

[16] M. BOGUCKA, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk i jego czasy* (Warsaw, 1981), p. 92.

[17] M.B. НІКОЛАЕЎ, *Палата кнігопісаная: Рукапсная кніга на Беларусі ў X-XVIII стагоддах* (Minsk, 1993), pp. 73-74, 100-105; ID., *Кніжная культура*, pp. 67-68; A. PACEVIČIUS, "Biblioteki", trans. B. KALĘBA, in: *Kultura Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego: Analizy i obrazy*, ed. V. ALIŠAUSKAS *et al.*, trans. P. BUKOWIEC *et al.* (Cracow, 2006), pp. 50-66, at pp. 53-54; Г.Я. ГАЛЕЧАНКА, *Невядомыя і малавядомыя помнікі духоўнай спадчыны і культурных сувязей Беларусі сярэдзіны XV-XVII ст.* (Minsk, 2008), pp. 81-84 and 86-91.

[18] J. KURCZEWSKI, *Kościół zamkowy, czyli katedra wileńska w jej dziejowym, liturgicznym, architektonicznym i ekonomicznym rozwoju*, 2 vols. (Vilnius, 1908-1910), 1, p. 9.

[19] KURCZEWSKI, *Kościół zamkowy*, 1, p. 27; J. FIJAŁEK, "Kościół rzymsko-katolicki na Litwie: Uchrześcijanienie Litwy przez Polskę i zachowanie w niej języka ludu po koniec Rzeczypospolitej", in: Wł. ABRAHAM *et al.*, *Polska i Litwa w dziejowym stosunku* (Warsaw, 1914), pp. 39-333, at p. 190.

Unfortunately, we have no data that could allow us to establish if correspondence written on birchbark functioned at that time in Vilnius as it did in Great Novgorod and in other Lithuanian cities like Mstsislaw, Vitebsk, Smolensk, and Kyiv (Kiev).[20] Undoubtedly stylus and *cera* were in use, and they were more popular in this part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[21]

At the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries three types of Cyrillic script were used in Vilnius: *ustav*, *polustav*, and *skoropis*.[22] *Ustav* is the oldest type of Ruthenian script, originating directly from the Greek majuscule. *Ustav* was used for liturgical books, inscriptions on monumental paintings, and icons. In the late Middle Ages *ustav* was transformed into *polustav*, a less meticulous script used for office purposes (documents, correspondence). In the fifteenth century *polustav* was transformed into *skoropis*, which means 'quick writing'. It is assumed that its emergence was influenced by the gothic cursive.[23] *Skoropis* soon became very popular, and its varieties were used in Lithuania until the end of the seventeenth century.

In the late Middle Ages Ruthenian script was used in three spheres of activity: religion, administration and politics, and trade. For the Orthodox inhabitants of Vilnius writing belonged first of all to the sphere of the sacred. Liturgical books used during Orthodox Church service were visible representations of the sacred. Nevertheless, the situation of the Ruthenian script was somehow different from that of Latin script. Orthodox books were written in Church Slavonic, a language created for the purposes of the Orthodox Slavonic liturgy in the ninth century, and – while it was not identical to Ruthenian – both languages were Slavic, so people could understand sacred texts. Latin, on the other hand, was a barrier for Catholics. Apart from clergymen, no one really understood the Latin texts read aloud in the Catholic churches.

Taking the above into account, we assume that the Ruthenian Orthodox inhabitants of Vilnius were much more familiar with writing as a means of communication. Maybe this is the reason why we have some information about the use of books by Vilnian burghers in the early sixteenth century. In 1518 Jan Abraham Ezofowicz, the treasurer of the Grand Duke (*podskarbi ziemski litew-*

[20] А.І. Груша, *Белоруская кірылычна палеаграфія: Вучэбны дапаможнік для студэнтаў гістарынага факультэта* (Minsk, 2006), p. 66.

[21] М.В. Ніколаеў, *Кніжная культура Вялікага Княства Літоўскага* (Minsk, 2009), p. 22; Niedźwiedź, *Kultura literacka Wilna*, pp. 34-35.

[22] Груша, *Белоруская кірылычна палеаграфія*, pp. 69-75, 90-92.

[23] K. Pietkiewicz, *Cyrylica: Skrypt do nauki odczytywania pisma staroruskiego i rosyjskiego dla studentów archiwistyki* (Poznań, 1996), pp. 10-11.

*ski*), donated the famous Kyiv Psalter (written in 1397) to the Orthodox church dedicated to St. Nicolaos the Wonderworker.[24] In 1522 Franciscus Skoryna moved his printing house from Prague to Vilnius, where he printed Orthodox books and sold the Cyrillic editions.[25] These books, especially the prayer book *Malaya podorozhnaya kniga*, were bought not only by the clergy, but also by the Vilnian burghers.[26] They are found in some testaments and inventories from the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The assumption that there were large numbers of Cyrillic texts among the inhabitants of Vilnius is supported by the evidence of other sacred texts found elsewhere. First of all, there are inscriptions found on icons, and these inscriptions constitute an essential element of the icons. Inscriptions accompanying Orthodox frescoes and polychromes as well as those found on bells may have been of a similar nature. Unfortunately, no such objects have been preserved in Vilnius until the present day; we may be certain that they did once exist, though. They must have been similar to the icons and polychromes which have been preserved in other parts of Lithuania and in Poland (e.g. in the castle chapel in Lublin and in the monastery in Supraśl). The existence of Orthodox inscribed tombstones is, however, rather doubtful. They emerged under the influence of Latin epigraphy, and the oldest preserved example in the Orthodox Church dedicated to the Trinity dates from the 1590s.

The Latin script fulfilled partially similar functions. Its application was wider, although there were less texts written or printed in it. Late gothic cursive, Schwabacher, and Textualis typefaces were used in Vilnius at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – mostly in documents created in Vilnius and in imported books.[27] In the 1520s Humanist Antique, Italic, and

[24] Ніколаеў, *Кніжная культура*, p. 45.

[25] *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, 5, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie*, ed. A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, K. Korotajowa, and W. Krajewski (Wrocław, 1959), p. 225; Z. Jaroszewicz-Pieriesławcew, *Druki cyrylickie z oficyn Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XVIII wieku* (Olsztyn, 2003), pp. 17-32.

[26] Е.Л. Немировский, *Франциск Скорина. Жизнь и деятельность белорусского просветителя* (Minsk, 1990), pp. 308-310; A. Nagórko, "Franciszek Skoryna", in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* 38 (Cracow, 1997-1998), p. 292; J. Ochmański, "Najdawniejsze księgozbiory na Litwie od końca XIV do połowy XVI wieku", in: *Europa orientalis: Polska i jej wschodni sąsiedzi od Średniowiecza po współczesność: Studia i materiały ofiarowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Alexandrowiczowi w 65 rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Z. Karpus, T. Kempa, and D. Michaluk (Toruń, 1996), pp. 62-78, at pp. 81-82.

[27] E. Potkowski, "Produkcja książki rękopiśmiennej w Polsce w XV stuleciu", in: *Z badań nad polskimi księgozbiorami historycznymi: Książka rękopiśmienna XV-XVII w.*, ed. B. Bieńkowska (Warsaw, 1980), pp. 9-67, at p. 27.

Cancelaresca typefaces started to interact ever more frequently with the already existing ones. The functions of the Latin script in churches were analogous to those of the Cyrillic script, meaning that it was used in paintings, inscriptions, and sculpture, as well as for decorating reliquaries, monstrances, chalices, and bells. The only set of late Gothic polychromes, dating from the 1530s and decorated with inscriptions written in Textualis, has been preserved on the walls of the Observant Friars' church. Later sources also mention some tombstones found in churches, either late Gothic or early Renaissance ones, although none of these have survived until the present day.[28] Sources from the first half of the fifteenth century give information about other commemorative texts written in Latin script. On 21 October 1440, a burgher Aleksander Muntholt, his wife Helena, and his sons handed twenty barrels of rye and a cow over to the Vilnian monastery of Conventual Franciscans every year in return for putting their names down in books of the dead (*liber mortuorum*) and reading them out on every holy day after the sermon.[29]

One of the most common forms in which texts appeared in late medieval Vilnius were inscriptions on coins, both those imported and those produced locally. Minting coins started in Vilnius during the reign of Alexander Jagiellon; the coins were patterned on Polish money from the Cracow mint.[30] They were minor denominations, denars and *półgrosz*es ('half-groschens'), used commonly within the whole of Lithuania. Gothic majuscule was the dominant script. During the reign of Sigismund I the Old it was replaced with humanist capitals. It is worth pointing out that the rulers of Poland and Lithuania chose Latin, not Ruthenian, as the language used on their coins, which outlined the direction to be followed in the popularisation of writing in Lithuania. All inhabitants of Vilnius, regardless of their religion and mother tongue, had to acknowledge the dominant position of the Latin script.

In sum, regardless of how commonplace the Cyrillic script and the coexistence of other varieties of script (e.g. Hebrew and Arabic) originally were, throughout the course of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries Western script attained a dominant position. This was one of the elements

[28] They are mentioned, *inter alia*, by S. STAROWOLSKI, *Monumenta Sarmatarum, viam universae carnis ingressorum* (Cracow, 1655), p. 224.

[29] "*... post obitum vero nostrum animas nostras suis libris asscribere et eas diebus festivis post sermonem pronunciare*" (*Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry i diecezji wileńskiej*, 1, *(1387-1507*), ed. J. FIJAŁEK and W. SEMKOWICZ (Cracow, 1938-1948), p. 190.

[30] M. GUMOWSKI, *Mennica wileńska w XVI i XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1921), pp. 15-16; R. KIERSNOWSKI, *Wstęp do numizmatyki polskiej Wieków Średnich* (Warsaw, 1964), p. 133.

of instilling Western culture in the eastern part of the continent. The expansion was taking place under the banner of Latin humanist culture, and Polish was gradually becoming its main language, as a second *Latinitas*-language. Belonging to the Slavonic group, Polish competed with Ruthenian, and since Polish written culture was strongly rooted in Latin literature and culture, it constituted an attractive discourse for the dominant political class and for the official culture of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[31] The issue of the popularisation of Polish and Latin script in Vilnius and the whole Commonwealth will be discussed in another paper.

## *Illustrations*

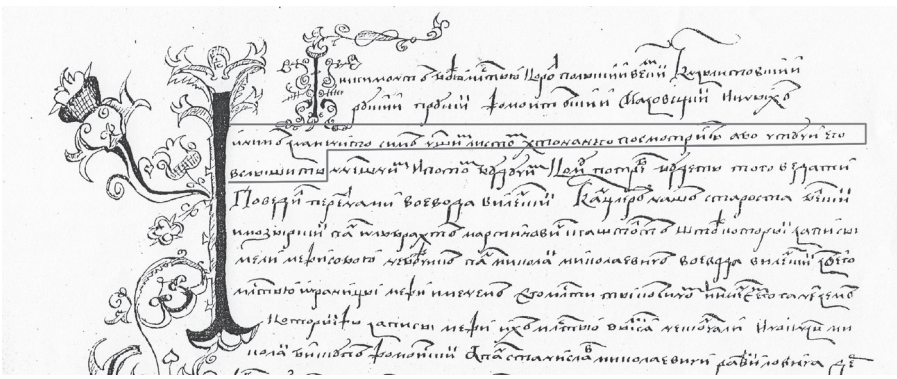

**Fig. 1** "The contents of this document are hereby made available to those who see it or hear it when read out loud". From a charter of Sigismond I the Old, Vilnius, 30 June 1528, from *Сборник палеографических снимков с древних грамот и актов храневшихся в виленском центральном архиве и виленской публичной библиотеке* (Vilnius, 1884), p. VIII (No. 15).

[31] J. NIEDŹWIEDŹ, "*Humanitas* na styku kultur: Kwestia dyskursów kolonialnych we wschodniej Europie", in: *Humanizm: Historie pojęcia*, ed. A. BOROWSKI (Warsaw, 2009), pp. 199-247.

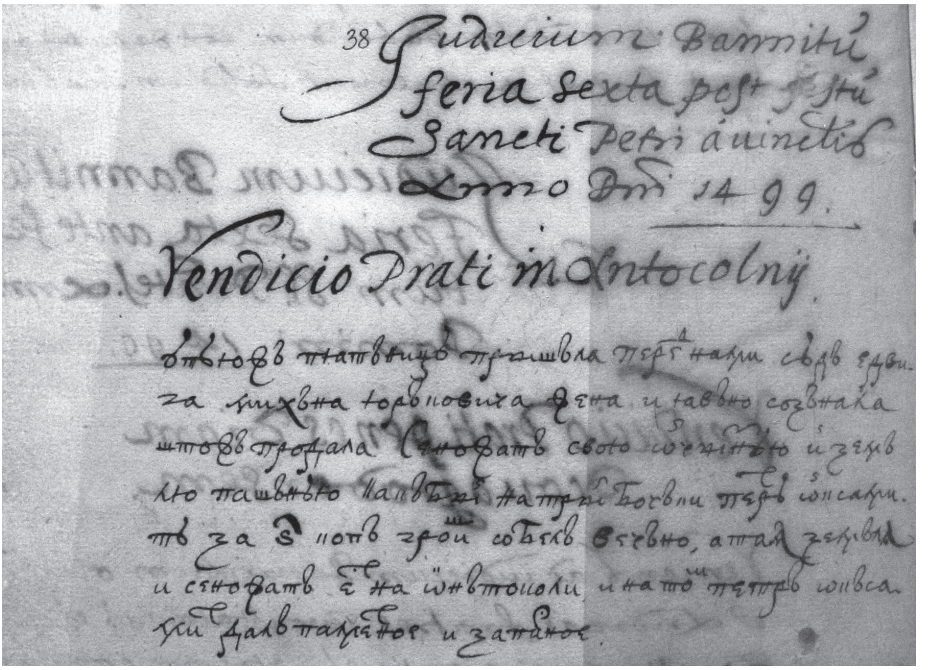

**Fig. 2** A Cyrillic deed in a Latin court book, 5 July 1499 (a copy from the sixteenth century). MS LVIA, F22, ap. 1, nr 5333, fol. 14v (photo J. Niedźwiedź).

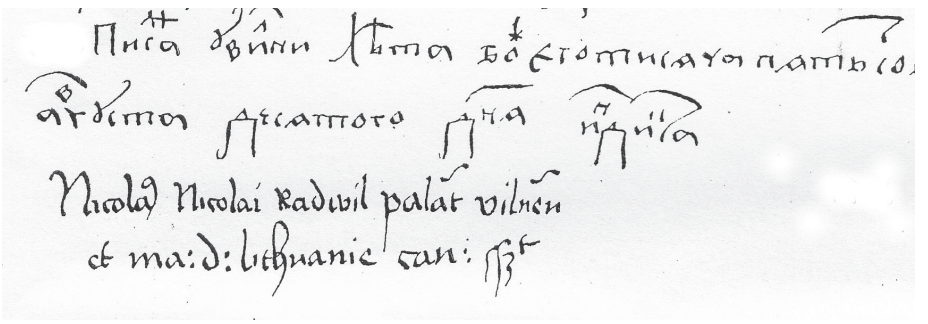


**Fig. 3** Cyryllic *skoropis* and Gothic minuscula together. A fragment of a document signed by the Lithuanian chancellor Mikołaj Radziwiłłowicz, Vilnius, 10 August 1516, from *Сборник палеографических снимков с древних грамот и актов храневшихся в виленском центральном архиве и виленской публичной библиотеке* (Vilnius, 1884), p. VI (No. 11).

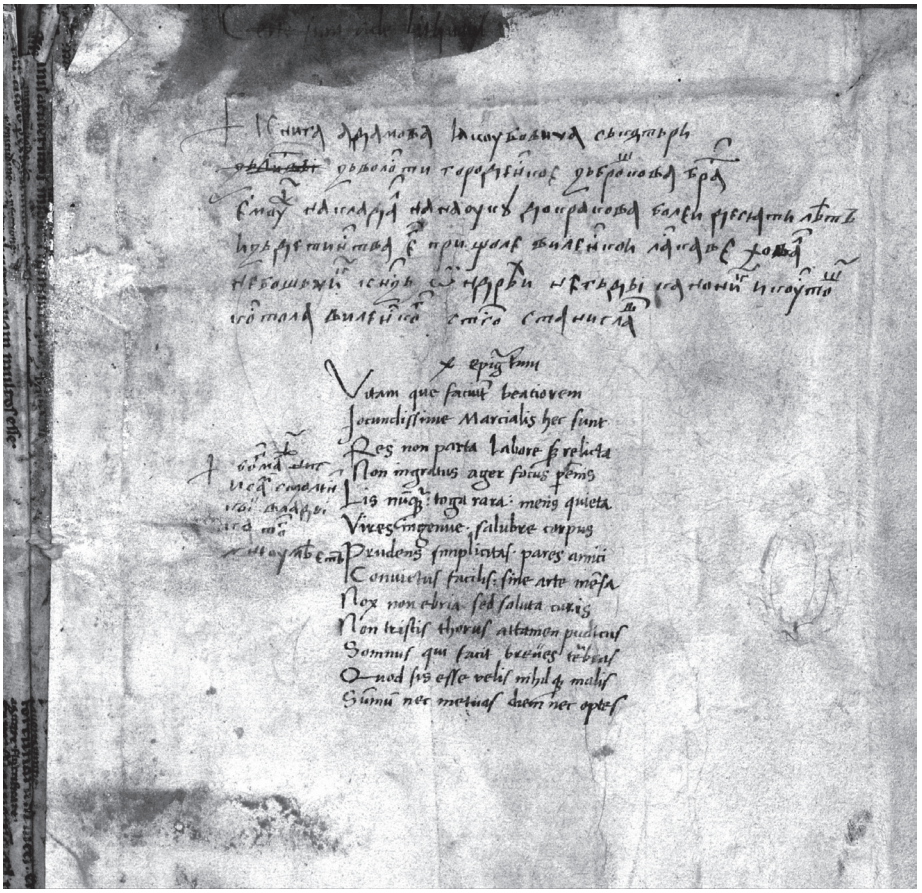

**Fig. 4** Notes in a book of *magister artium* Adam Jakubowicz of Kotra (Adam of Vilnius, †1517), a Vilnian canon and secretary of the Lithuanian chancery: above, a short autobiographical note written in *skoropis*; below, a Latin epigram with Ruthenian marginal notes. From G. MAGGIO (Iunianus Maius), *De priscorum verborum proprietate* (Trier, per Bernardum de Colonia, 1477), Cracow, Jagiellonian Library, Incunab. 1824.

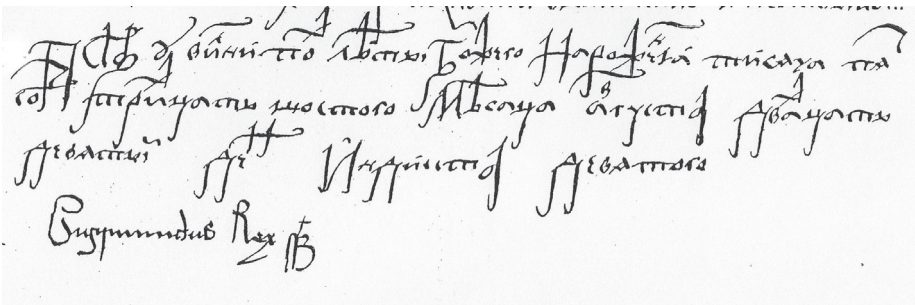

**Fig. 5** The signature of Sigismond I the Old, in Latin script, on a Ruthenian charter. Vilnius, 29 August 1536, from *Сборник палеографических снимков с древних грамот и актов храневшихся в виленском центральном архиве и виленской публичной библиотеке* (Vilnius, 1884), p. XI (No. 21).

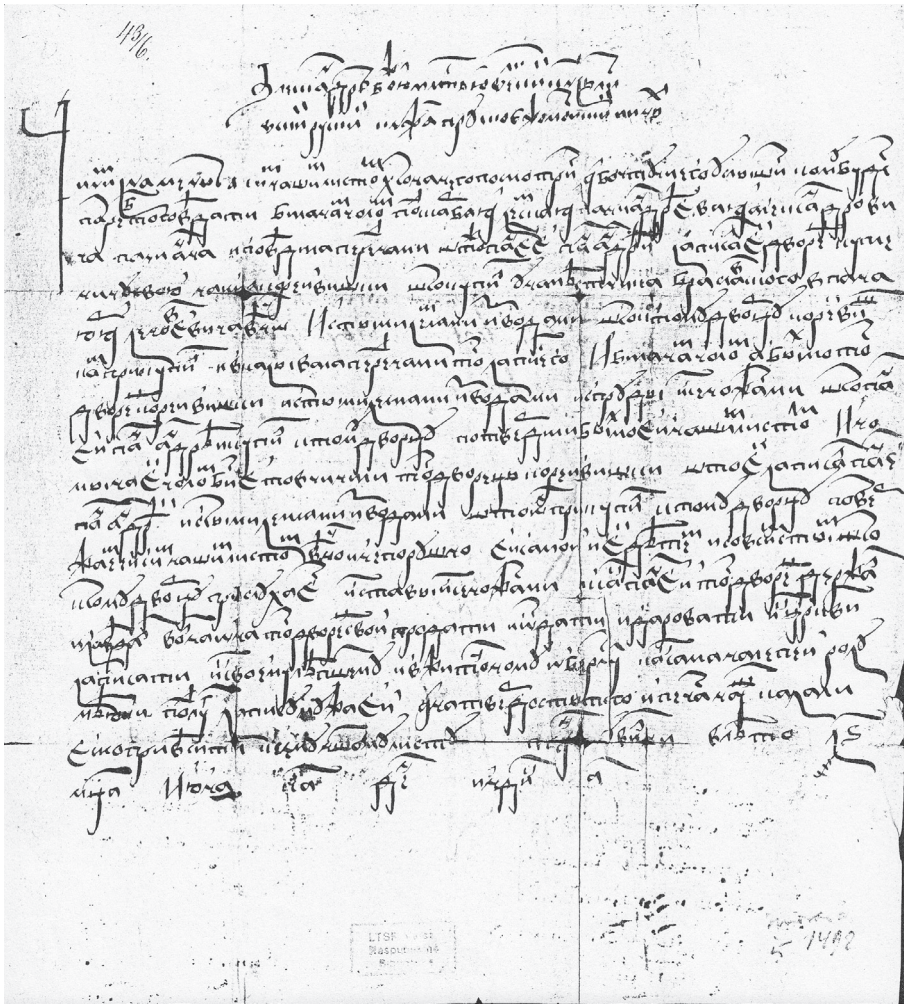

**Fig. 6** *Skoropis* in a confirmation for Anna Andreevichova Alexandrovychova made out by the chancellery of Alexander Jagiellon, Vilnius, 21 June (?) 1498. MS LNB, sygn. F93-484.

**Fig. 7** Late Gothic polichromy with Textualis inscriptions in the Observant Friars church in Vilnius, *c.* 1530 (photo J. Niedźwiedź).

**Fig. 8** Two Gothic coins (*półgroszes* – half-groschens) from the Vilnius mint of Alexander Jagiellon (early 1500s) and Sigismond I the Old (1510) respectively (photo K. Szymańska).

*Part II*

# Making Books and Telling Stories: Book Production and Urban Historiography

# The Role of Cities in Medieval Book Production: Quantitative Analyses

ELTJO BURINGH

We have arrived at a method of determining the production rates of books in the Middle Ages, through the combination of various sets of quantitative data concerning medieval population, numbers of universities, urbanisation and numbers of monasteries. We will briefly introduce a statistical method for comparing the currently surviving numbers of medieval manuscripts with a sample from a database, and provide an estimate of the historical losses of manuscripts. The final combination of the two leads to the medieval production rates of books. After performing a number of checks on the estimated production rates we will demonstrate, through the use of a specific statistical regression model, that the production of books in the Latin West in the early medieval period was mainly monastic. In the second half of the Middle Ages urban civilisation, for which universities are an important indicator, drove the local output of manuscripts.

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 119-177.

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## *Concepts and Methods*

In this contribution we define a manuscript as a 'codicological entity': the intended end product of scribal activities.[1] We have, however, limited ourselves to manuscript books. It is relevant to realise that the numbers of books presented in our study therefore do not comprise texts that are essentially single-sheet manuscripts (such as deeds or charters), nor do our numbers comprise fragmented letters – for instance those deposited in repositories at synagogues or mosques. Despite our efforts, it nevertheless remains a somewhat fuzzy set. For example, in this study we did not consider single sheet writs or charters to be manuscripts; if our definition of a handwritten text would have been strictly applied, however, they certainly would have had to have been covered. When a number of those medieval charters were copied into one volume, thereby acquiring the form that is generally considered to be a handwritten codex, we considered such a collection of charters to be a manuscript book.

In Fig. 1 we present the simplified scheme we used to estimate the numbers of medieval manuscripts produced in the past (here called: W) by means of the numbers of currently surviving manuscripts (here called: M) that have been derived by way of an intermediate step of counting manuscripts for which representations exist somewhere in literature references (here called: m) from a sample contained in a database (here called: N). We can suppose that a number of productive factors (here called: $f_o$), probably comprising monasteries, cities or universities, would have influenced the medieval production of manuscripts W. Later on we will analyse this productive influence quantitatively. A certain fraction of the W manuscripts that were once produced have been lost through use, neglect or other causes, and currently only a rather small fraction of M manuscripts survive of the W that were once produced in the Middle Ages. Of these M manuscripts, only a certain proportion (here called: m) can potentially get selected for our database because they meet all our selection criteria; of these, only N manuscripts will eventually end up in our database. After independently assessing the medieval and post-medieval loss rates, we can in principle infer the numbers of medieval manuscripts W that were written over time, once we have arrived at M from our database N.

[1] We used the definition presented by Marco Mostert, though we deleted the word 'scriptorium' he uses, as medieval writers and copyists outside regular scriptoria also produced manuscripts. M. MOSTERT, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum, 1989), p. 35.

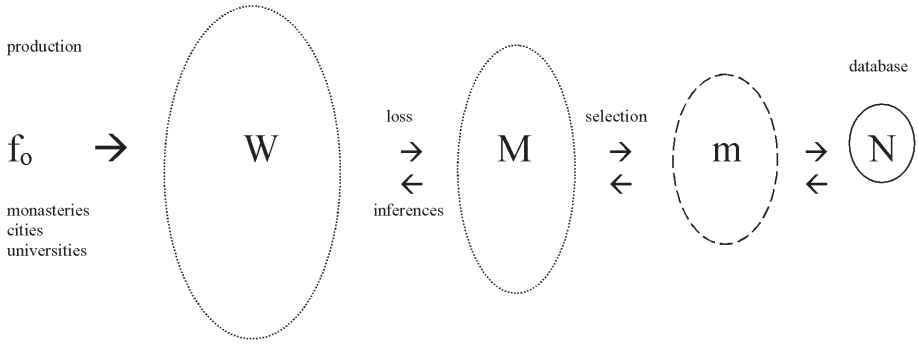


**Fig. 1** Simplified scheme to estimate the numbers of medieval books, W, from a sample, N.

W = numbers of produced medieval books
M = numbers of currently surviving medieval books
m = subset of currently surviving medieval books of which representations exist
N = database, used for the estimates

To our knowledge, the question as to how many manuscripts currently survive or were once produced in the world has not yet been answered. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, who wrote extensively about the printing press as an agent of change, indicates that we have no figures at all for medieval scribal production.[2] Her main characterisation of the medieval production rates of manuscripts is represented by the word 'elusive'. A slightly less elusive number would be an estimate of extant manuscripts; if such an estimate exists, however, we were unable to find it, though we did find a few estimates concerning the sizes of certain subsets. Jonathan Bloom presented an estimate of 600,000 remaining Arabic manuscripts.[3] Raphael Posner and Israel Ta-Shema indicated that probably some 60,000 Hebrew manuscripts survive.[4] Recently Jos Weitenberg *et al.* estimated the current global total number of Armenian manuscripts

[2] E.L. EISENSTEIN, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979), 1, p. 11.

[3] J.M. BLOOM, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven, 2001), p. 93.

[4] *The Hebrew Book, a historical survey*, ed. R. POSNER and I. TA-SHEMA (New York, 1975), p. 20.

at 30,000.[5] For the medieval German-speaking *Reich*, Uwe Neddermeyer proposed a figure of 120,000-130,000 surviving manuscripts.[6] Later on these numbers will be compared with our own estimates; here we present them without further comment simply to give an indication of their order of magnitude. Because these estimates concern subsets, we only know that the total number of manuscripts in the world must be considerably greater. How much larger, however, still needs to be estimated.

Another route to answering the question of the surviving numbers of manuscripts – through the counting of all manuscripts mentioned in the catalogues of libraries – will probably remain just a rough approach. Not all manuscripts currently housed in libraries are as yet catalogued, quite a few manuscripts are located in archives or museums, and the amount in private hands is not negligible. Therefore the numbers resulting from a counting exercise of published catalogues would be incorrect. Most likely, numbers found by counting would also contain geographical biases, as the process of cataloguing is more advanced in some areas than in others. With the current developments of the modern Internet, a few libraries have managed to make their manuscripts accessible online. However, and especially for the non-western countries, we may expect a less favourable situation concerning the cataloguing of local manuscripts, which may at times be located in remote repositories or unknown private collections. Alternatively, counting all the manuscripts mentioned in the study by Paul Oskar Kristeller and Sigrid Krämer would not lead to the required global numbers, as these authors concentrate on Latin manuscripts and necessarily limit themselves to catalogues of libraries and institutions mainly in western countries.[7]

## *Paradigm Shifts*

To arrive at some answers to the questions concerning the survival and production of medieval manuscripts, a number of paradigm shifts are required.

[5] J.J.S. WEITENBERG, Th.M. VAN LINT, H.L.M. DEFOER, and W.C.M. WÜSTEFELD, *Armenië: Middeleeuwse miniaturen uit het christelijke oosten* (Zwolle, 2001), p. 55.

[6] U. NEDDERMEYER, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998), 1, p. 87.

[7] P.O. KRISTELLER and S. KRÄMER, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600: A List of Printed Inventories and Unpublished Catalogues of Extant Collections* (Munich, 1993: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Hilfsmittel* 13).

In the first paradigm shift we will devise a very different approach, in which we are no longer subject to the limitations in the available data described above. One such method is to estimate the currently surviving number of manuscripts in the world from samples and to use statistics. For people whose only acquaintance with the word statistics is the phrase "There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies, and statistics" (attributed to Benjamin Disraeli and afterwards popularised by Mark Twain), such an approach may appear strange. However, using samples and statistically scrutinising them is commonly applied in our society, though the use of statistics may not always be apparent to large parts of the population. In this study we used samples to estimate the numbers of books contained in medieval and contemporary libraries, and to do this we based our methods on those also used by Allied intelligence during World War II. In the *Journal of the American Statistical Association* Richard Ruggles and Henry Brodie described the wartime efforts to estimate the production of German tyres for trucks and aircraft on the basis of serial numbers and coded letters on the surface of the rubber, indicating the date and year of their manufacture and the name of the producer.[8] Such information was vital war intelligence, as it presented an opportunity to estimate how the German stocks of natural rubber were depleted (the Germans did not have direct access to sources of natural rubber and all their supplies had been imported before the war). These figures, when analysed as monthly figures per tyre producer, also indicated how effective Allied air raids had been in stopping enemy war production by bombardments. For the initial tyre study, 2000 markings of tyres had been collected. This proved to be enough to crack the codes and estimate the German war production. After the war, when the original German production records of the Ministry of War Production of Albert Speer were discovered by Allied forces, it turned out that the wartime estimates made by Richard Ruggles and William Parker, two clever economic analysts working for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in Europe, had been more accurate than those based on intelligence-gathering by traditional spies. For 1943 the numbers of tyres produced per month and their estimates only differed – 6%, (the OSS estimate was 176,000, while Speer's official production figure was 186,000). All these estimates were based on a sample that in fact was only 0.3% of the total numbers of tyres produced. The accuracy of the serial number estimates can be better appreciated from the fact that Allied intelligence agen-

[8] R. RUGGLES and H. BRODIE, "An empirical approach to economic intelligence in World War II", *Journal American Statistical Association* 42 (1947), pp. 72-91.

cies, by other classical spying methods, had placed production at between 900,000 and 1,200,000 tyres a month. After the war both Richard Ruggles and William Parker became professors of economics at Yale.

Similarly to the methods employed by Allied intelligence during World War II, the total number of manuscripts in a library with the same (alphanumeric) shelfmark have been estimated as: $S*(1 + 1/s)$.[9] An estimate on the basis of the above approach concerning the total number of global manuscripts, which instead of the current subset uses the whole database together with a more extensive treatment of the results, can be found elsewhere.[10]

A second paradigm shift of our study is that we explicitly also looked for figures from libraries that no longer exist. We have assessed the loss rates of medieval libraries from what is known of their survival; when we do this for enough medieval libraries dating to different periods of time we may find a quantitative number for the relationship between the originally produced numbers (W) and the currently remaining numbers (M) of manuscripts, which we can use for our assessments. This second paradigm shift means, for instance, that if we want to study the survival of manuscripts and the loss rates of medieval libraries, we should give equal attention to the libraries that have (nearly) totally disappeared instead of concentrating our studies on the few libraries that have come through troubled times relatively unscathed. The justly famous and often studied medieval libraries of St. Gall in Switzerland and Fleury in France, of which quite a few manuscripts survive (these two monastic libraries therefore have relatively low loss rates) are certainly not the typical libraries we should use as examples of survival of medieval libraries. Other (and often lesser known) libraries of which nothing currently survives, have had much higher loss rates. Unfortunately, the mathematical formula that we use to calculate the loss rates does not allow us to calculate these directly when zero manuscripts remain. Instead we applied two methods to calculate them indirectly: the first assumes a hypothetical survival of 0.4 manuscripts (a value which if rounded off would have been zero, but strictly speaking such an approach is not compatible with the concept of a codicological entity), and the second involves using the statistical technique of linear regression. Both methods have

[9] A capital letter S stands for the maximal numeric part of a specific set of manuscripts in a library, which all have the same alphanumeric shelf mark, while for the same library lower case s represents the total number of manuscripts in the database that all have the same alphanumeric shelf mark.

[10] E. BURINGH, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West: Explorations with a Global Database* (Leiden, 2011: *Global Economic History Series* 6).

allowed us to make a presumably more realistic and rather similar estimate of the average loss rates of medieval manuscripts in the Latin West.

## *The Database N*

We used a subset of 17,352 manuscripts as a sample (N) of currently remaining manuscripts produced in eleven areas, together encompassing the Latin West. This sample covers the period from 501 to 1500 and was drawn from a global database containing descriptors of 29,871 manuscripts copied in the nineteen centuries prior to the twentieth. The global database covered two dozen areas of the earth; its contents are published separately.[11] The original global database was constructed from a library that contained over 2100 books, publications and volumes of journals on manuscripts from all over the world. The complete procedure followed in constructing the database and afterwards applying the mathematical operations has been described in an appendix to a separate article.[12] Nevertheless, we will here present a shortened version to allow the reader some idea of the database and its usefulness.

The following four selection criteria, that should each be met individually, determined inclusion of any manuscript into the global database:

- First of all, the manuscript in question should be handwritten. Furthermore, it is regarded as a codicological entity, which means that its size could range from a surviving fragment to a wholly intact manuscript, as well as any fraction of a manuscript in between.
- Secondly, manuscripts on all materials other than stone, slate, clay (*ostraca*) and tiles, and excepting writing that was embroidered or woven into cloth, were included in the database. Thus manuscripts copied on papyrus, wood, wax tablets, parchment, vellum, leather, paper, leaves or other plant material, cloth or silk can all be found in the global database.
- Thirdly, the availability of a picture of the manuscript in one or more of the publications in the library was a criterion for inclusion; this does not necessarily imply that only illuminated manuscripts were included, merely that a specimen of the

[11] BURINGH, M*edieval Manuscript Production*.

[12] E. BURINGH and J.L. VAN ZANDEN, "Charting the 'rise of the West': Manuscript and printed books in Europe, a long-term perspective from the sixth through eighteenth centuries", *Journal of Economic History* 69 (2009), pp. 410-446.

writing or illustration had been considered to be so important by the original author of the publication found in the library that it warranted its reproduction.

- Finally, for each manuscript there should be a (sometimes brief) description of its place and date of origin, as well as an indication of its contents, the place where it is kept or has last been, and of its shelfmark, to help with retrieval of the manuscript and to have a unique and universally usable identification code.

As a result of these four inclusion criteria we may expect temporal and spatial skewness to arise in the global database as a consequence of unavoidable publication and selection biases. Nevertheless, numerically such skewness can be overcome by specific correction and standardisation steps, as has been demonstrated elsewhere.[13] Other codicological data that, if known, were included in the database are the author, title and illuminator, as well as the total number of references in the library to that specific manuscript. Manuscripts that have been destroyed or are currently missing, but that nevertheless satisfy all four inclusion criteria, have been incorporated into the database. It should be stressed that the content of a manuscript was not one of the criteria for its inclusion.

In the Latin West eleven areas of manuscript production have been distinguished. For the geographical localisation of manuscripts we have used the countries and their borders around 1990. The area called 'Ctreur', short for Central Europe, lumps the relatively few manuscripts from Hungary, Slovakia, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway and Iceland into one large geographical container. 'Boh' or Bohemia may be identified with the Czech Republic, while the British Isles and Ireland have been considered as a single area. France is seen as one entity, and the heading 'Belg' combines the manuscripts originally copied in Belgium and Luxembourg. The Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Italy are all separate areas, while 'Iberia' comprises the whole of the Iberian Peninsula including Spain and Portugal and the formerly Moorish territories. When the location of production of a manuscript was presented in a publication as jointly in Northern France and Belgium, as happened for quite a number of Psalters and Books of Hours, or jointly in France and Germany for Carolingian manuscripts, the origins of these manuscripts were distributed by chance over one of the areas, with a 1:1 ratio for Northern France and Belgium and 2:1 for France and Germany, taking into account the proportion of firmly localised manuscripts for these areas and periods.

[13] BURINGH, M*edieval Manuscript Production*.

A uniform procedure has been followed to prevent any selective biases arising from the dating of manuscripts. According to regular custom, century B starts with the year (B-1)01 and ends with the year B00 and is called the Bth century. Any manuscript with a firm date of copying has of course been given that date, while those dated to a certain century have been given the date of the middle of the century; thus a manuscript from the fourteenth century is given the date 1350. Those manuscripts that have been dated to some mixed century such as twelfth/thirteenth, have been randomly assigned to either the twelfth (date:1200) or the thirteenth (date:1201). A similar approach has been taken for manuscripts that were dated to around the turn of a century, such as *c.* 1200, which would also incur an equal chance of ending up in either the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. The use of chance to consign manuscripts to a certain century was applied to some 8% of the subset.

Palimpsests have of course been included twice in the database with their appropriate places and dates, in accordance with the concept of the codicological entity. For more complex manuscripts (convolutes or albums) that have been produced over more than a century, the copying date of the folio on the representation in the original publication has been decisive. When more than one representation over more than one century was available for such a complex manuscript, each century has been seen as a separate entry, though it was quite seldom that something like this occurred (one of the better known exceptions in the global database is the St. Petersburg *Muraqqa*).

For obvious reasons Byzantine manuscripts produced in Southern Italy (currently 43 manuscripts in the database) have been included under the heading of Italy, as has the single Armenian manuscript in the database that was produced in Italy, since the area of production was the decisive criterion for a manuscript's localisation. In addition, Jewish manuscripts have not been seen as a separate entity but have been included under their various areas of production.

## *Validation of the Database N*

The global data set has been validated against the available quantitative distributions of manuscripts.[14] For an earlier period (outside our range of 501-

[14] For the complete data of all the comparisons the reader is referred to: BURINGH, *Medieval manuscript production*.

1500 or outside the Latin West) we saw a similar distribution of roll and codex in Egypt in the first to fifth centuries in the database as can be seen in a survey of the literature.[15] A point estimate of the books in the inventory of an Egyptian church property in the seventh and eighth centuries also compared favourably with a similar subset from the database.[16] A quite different comparison of Dutch *alba amicorum* of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries in Dutch libraries, and later than the period currently under observation, produced an explained variance of 88%.[17]

For the current period (501-1500) and subset (Latin West), specific validations have been performed as well. Latin gospel books from the fifth-eighth centuries and a similar subset from the database led to an explained variance of 86%.[18] A number of ninth-century monastic catalogues and an appropriate subset of the database led to a similar explained variance.[19] A comparison of Latin bestiaries from the eleventh-fifteenth centuries and the database produced an explained variance of 98%.[20] The whole European corpus of *manuscrits datés* (*CMD*) is extensive and quite pivotal for manuscripts from the Latin West, and a comparison of the database and the distribution of manuscripts in *CMD* led to an explained variance of 95%.[21]

The relatively high explained variance for the various validations of subsets indicate that the found (relative) distributions of manuscripts in the database compare well with what we can find in the relevant literature, and we may conclude that along with these comparisons those specific subsets have also been validated. Because the global database is so extensive in its coverage, we cannot compare it directly with any known data set, and therefore we can only compare certain subsets of the database with appropriate standards for these subsets. With an argument of induction we may conclude that, if some arbitrary subset of the database compares well with its appropriate standard, then the

[15] O. MAZAL, *Griechisch-römische Antike* (Graz, 1999: *Geschichte der Buchkultur* 1), p. 134.

[16] *Papyri, Ostraca, Parchments and Waxed Tablets in the Leiden Papyrological Institute*, ed. F.A.J. HOOGENDIJK and P. VAN MINNEN (Leiden, 1991), p. 54.

[17] *Alba Amicorum, vijf eeuwen vriendschap op papier gezet*, ed. K. THOMASSEN (Maarssen, 1990), p. 11.

[18] P. MCGURK, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800* (Antwerp, 1961).

[19] G. BECKER, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1885; reprint Hildesheim, 1973).

[20] R. BAXTER, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 147-148.

[21] For the extensive literature references of this comparison the reader is referred to annex O in BURINGH, *Medieval Manuscript Production*.

other unchecked parts would have compared well with standards had they been available. Therefore we may presume that the whole database has been validated and not just the subsets that we scrutinised above.

### *From N to M*

We can expect a certain spatial skewness in the database caused by publication and selection biases, which may either over- or under-represent manuscripts from a certain area as a result of our four selection criteria. We can compensate for both biases together, however, by counting per area in the subset how many local manuscripts the libraries in that area contain, and how many local manuscripts the shelfmarks of these manuscripts represent, then standardising the distributions with a spatial calibration factor.

After this spatial calibration we still have only relative distributions in the database that have to be made absolute. As a first step, we have used the distribution over time of surviving manuscripts and printed books from medieval libraries of Great Britain presented by Neil Ker.[22] This author has shown how 5337 manuscripts that were once in British libraries were distributed in an absolute way over the sixth-fifteenth centuries. By looking at what proportion of the subset of the database coincides with what Neil Ker found, we can determine the correction factor (per century) with which we have to multiply the specific fractions from the spatially calibrated manuscripts in the database to arrive at a distribution that is less relative but not absolute, as it has not yet been scaled. Despite the fact that we have constructed a less relative distribution of the subset covering the sixth-fifteenth centuries, we are not yet done, as Neil Ker had to leave out of his book quite a number of medieval manuscripts (a multiple of what he could describe) that no longer contained any sign of medieval ownership, for instance on a flyleaf, with which he could document an attribution of their origin to one of the medieval libraries in Great Britain.

Fortunately there are several pegs for the Latin West consisting of 'gold' standards of relatively well-known numbers of manuscripts (three in this case) to quantify the missing fractions and arrive at the desired absolute numbers. These three 'gold' standards, as we have called them, are from different centuries and therefore may be used to estimate extrapolation factors for other centu-

[22] N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn. (London, 1964).

ries. For the period prior to the ninth century there is a collection of (fragments of) manuscripts that has been covered extensively in the series *Codices Latini Antiquiores* by Elias Avery Lowe.[23] In its latest count in 1971, *CLA* described some 1811 manuscripts. Since then Bernhard Bischoff and Virginia Brown have described another 54 new items, and Virginia Brown added a dozen more in 1991, so a nice round number would be some 1900 manuscripts from this period.[24] For the 939 manuscripts (from the sixth to eighth centuries) in the database we can now assume that they coincide with some 1900 still surviving manuscripts; we therefore have to use a scaling factor of 2.0 to correct for the missed manuscripts and arrive at an absolute distribution in the Latin West. Fortunately, we also have a standard for the ninth century due to the work of Bernhard Bischoff and Birgit Ebersperger, implicating that currently some 8200 continental manuscripts from this century survive, if we assume similar numbers in the as yet unpublished final volume of the catalogue.[25] The estimated numbers of surviving ninth-century manuscripts amount to 8500 for the Latin West if we also take into account the numbers of surviving Visigothic manuscripts and the listed Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.[26] For the relative number of 1548 manuscripts in the database from the Latin West in the ninth century, this second peg of 8500 leads to a scaling factor of 5.5 to correct for the missed manuscripts of the absolute distribution. There is a third peg for the thirteenth century. This may be found in the 50 remaining Latin bestiaries that Ron Baxter reports to have been produced in the British Isles.[27] He also reports a relationship between numbers of bestiaries and other manuscripts on medieval booklists, finding one bestiary for some 375 other manuscripts. The multiplication of the 50 remaining bestiaries with the 375 other manuscripts on medieval booklists leads to a value, based on the booklists, of 18,750 remaining manu-

[23] E.A. LOWE, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1934-1972).

[24] B. BISCHOFF and V. BROWN, "Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores*", *Medieval Studies* 47 (1985), pp. 317-66; H. MAYO and S. SHARMA, "The E.A. Lowe papers at the Pierpont Morgan Library", *Scriptorium* 46 (1992), pp. 90-107.

[25] B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigothischen)*, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1998), describing MSS held in Aachen-Lambach; B. BISCHOFF and B. EBERSPERGER, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigothischen)*, 2, *Laon-Paderborn* (Wiesbaden, 2004). See B. EBERSPERGER, "Bernhard Bischoff's catalogue of ninth-century continental manuscripts", *Gazette du Livre Médiéval* 34 (1999), pp. 44-48.

[26] A. MILLARES CARLO, *Tratado de paleografía española*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1983), 1, pp. 323-342; H. GNEUSS, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, AZ, 2001).

[27] BAXTER, *Bestiaries and their uses*, pp. 147-148.

scripts in total. If this total number is divided by the previously presented value of 5337 for the identified number of surviving manuscripts found by Neil Ker, we arrive at a scaling factor of 3.5 for the thirteenth century to correct for the manuscripts that were missed. For the centuries between the ninth and thirteenth, the scaling factor per century (i) is found by linear interpolation between the values presented above of respectively 5.5 and 3.5, while for the two centuries after the thirteenth the scaling factor based on a straight line is extrapolated for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This approach produces century-specific scaling factors. Note that by following this procedure, with independent pegs presenting more or less 'gold' standards, we have made the relative results (of the subset) of the database largely independent of the size of the database, as the values of the various scaling factors for a different size of the database would have differed from those values presented above, while the final results would likely have remained quite similar numerically.

### *Losses of Manuscripts, from W to M (and Back Again)*

A second important question is, what fraction of manuscripts has been lost since their production? John Cisne has presented a recent estimate of such losses.[28] His calculations suggest a survival of two out of every seven medieval manuscripts copied in the ninth century; however, his estimates as well as the methods he used have been criticised. We have shown elsewhere that such a high survival, or in other words low loss rates, would have led to an unrealistically low level of manuscript production in the eighth century in Europe.[29] Such an estimated production level would have been incapable of adequately providing for the number of manuscripts which the many monasteries and dioceses in the Latin West existing in the eighth century would most likely have needed for church services and contemplative study.[30]

[28] J.L. Cisne, "How science survived: Medieval manuscripts' 'demography' and classic text's extinction", *Science* 307 (2005), pp. 1305-1307.

[29] Buringh, M*edieval Manuscript Production* (Leiden, 2011).

[30] N.D. Peynson and L. Peynson, "Treating medieval manuscripts as fossils". *Science* 309 (2005), pp. 698-699. E. Buringh, "Treating medieval manuscripts as fossils", *Science*, 309 (2005), p. 699. G. Declercq, "Comment on 'How science survived: medieval manuscripts' "demography" and classic texts' extinction'", *Science* 310 (2005), p. 1618.

More than a decade ago Uwe Neddermeyer suggested a survival of one out of every fifteen manuscripts copied in the fifteenth century.[31] Neddermeyer arrived at this value by hypothesising that losses of the more expensive manuscripts in all probability would have been lower than those of the then cheaper and contemporary incunables (books printed before 1501), for a couple of thousands of which he had empirically determined a lost fraction of circa 97.2% to 95.8%, depending on the averaging method employed.[32] Some of the older values of reciprocal survival factors of manuscripts that Uwe Neddermeyer rejected as too extreme varied between a factor of two and a factor of 150 (indicating that every currently surviving medieval manuscript had to be multiplied by either a factor of two or of 150, to find the original numbers of manuscripts copied).[33] In IASL online Günther Görz and Ursula Rautenberg criticised the statistical methods Neddermeyer employed, and more particularly the lack of substantiation of the value of fifteen he suggested for the general survival of late medieval manuscripts.[34]

For the moment we can only conclude that there are currently no generally accepted values of loss rates for medieval manuscripts that can be used safely in this study. We therefore decided to collect as many of these highly varying loss rates of different sets of medieval manuscripts as we could discover. Afterwards we pooled all the obtained figures in a database, and after analysis used these values as an empirical basis to estimate some kind of an average value that would provide a generalised loss rate, which we could later use to estimate medieval production of manuscripts.[35]

We will briefly describe the method used to quantify the loss rates ($L_i$) of medieval manuscripts. For the calculation of the loss rates of manuscripts in a certain medieval library we need the original numbers of manuscripts (b) and the presently remaining numbers (c). We also need two dates (expressed in

[31] NEDDERMEYER, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, 1, p. 81.

[32] NEDDERMEYER, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, 1, p. 76. Such loss rates indicate that currently only one book survives out of every 24 or 36 incunables once printed. A loss of 97.2% or, in other words, a surviving fraction of 0.028, leads to a reciprocal survival factor (of 1/0.028) that has a value of 36. A reciprocal survival factor of 36 is a posh way of saying that currently only one book survives out of 36 originally printed.

[33] NEDDERMEYER, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, 1, p. 75.

[34] G. GÖRZ and U. RAUTENBERG, "Medienwechsel bibliometrisch: Kurzrezension zu Uwe Neddermeyer ...", IASL online (2001) http://www.iaslonline.lmu.de/index.php?vorgang_id=2334 (contacted 2007-10-23).

[35] Because of the highly varying loss rates of the various samples we used the geometric average as a metric to characterise the results.

units of centuries): a date (B) in the past, when the content of the original library was counted or when the medieval pressmarks or shelfmarks were originally attributed to the manuscripts in the library, and a date (C) at which the current numbers were established of manuscripts surviving from that specific library.

Apart from those rather extraordinary situations for which there were specific data on the original numbers of medieval manuscripts, generally the original numbers (b) have been estimated from the medieval pressmarks or shelfmarks, similarly to the method used for estimating the numbers of remaining manuscripts for a certain shelfmark in a library with the formula: $S*(1 + 1/s)$, which has been elaborated previously. The loss rate ($L_i$) in percentage per century can then be calculated as:

$$L_i = -(1 - \exp(\ln(c/b)/(C - B)))*100\%.$$

However, a considerable fraction of the loss rates that we managed to collect were not presented as such originally. Sometimes we had to calculate loss rates in percent per century from rates of survival (in essence a reciprocal of the losses); sometimes we could work out the values of the loss rates from the medieval numbers of manuscripts on, for instance, a contemporary list of manuscripts belonging to a certain medieval library when the currently surviving numbers of the manuscripts were also known, manuscripts which had been mentioned on that specific list but could now be dispersed anywhere in the world. Sometimes loss rates were even calculated the other way around, for instance when we only had a list of surviving medieval manuscripts from a certain library for which the original medieval shelfmarks were also known.[36] We then used the numeric and alphanumeric parts of these shelfmarks to estimate the size of the original medieval library at approximately the time the shelfmarks were given. Calculating the accompanying loss rate with the formula, this procedure was quite straightforward. In some exceptional cases we calculated loss rates from ratios of numbers of surviving medieval works and those which had completely disappeared.

The lists of loss rates found for sets of manuscripts from different locations and dates are presented elsewhere.[37] Eventually we managed to calculate loss

[36] KER, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, e.g. presents quite a number of libraries in the UK for which we could estimate loss rates with the described procedures.

[37] Annexes L, M and N in: BURINGH, *Medieval Manuscript Production*.

rates of more than 250 sets of 'medieval' manuscripts from a number of places in the world, which also comprise a wide range of dates, together including more than 25,000 surviving manuscripts. The values of all these loss rates are used to estimate the generally applicable values of loss rates that we could use for our later calculations of production rates of manuscripts in the medieval Latin West.

Occasionally we also managed to obtain a number of values for loss rates of manuscripts from outside the Latin West. From *CMD* we can conclude that currently 160 dated ninth-century manuscripts survive that were copied in the Latin West, while only 40 dated ninth-century manuscripts that were copied in the Orient are still extant.[38] At the same time we know that the largest libraries in the Latin West in that century contained at most a few hundred manuscripts, while contemporary libraries in the then mainly Muslim Iberian Peninsula and elsewhere in the Muslim world were considerably larger than in the Latin West. The largest of those Muslim libraries in the tenth century may have contained hundreds of thousands of manuscripts. The laws of logic only permit us to conclude that the loss rates of manuscripts in the Muslim world must have been considerably higher than those that we managed to calculate for the Latin West. How much larger, however, is something we would hesitate to speculate about with our limited current knowledge, and therefore we will not try to estimate how many manuscripts were produced outside the Latin West.

### *Other Quantitative Data*

We derived the numbers of inhabitants (in millions) in the Latin West from a publication by Colin McEvedy and Richard Jones.[39] Table 1 presents the population data we use for our later calculations and standardisations; the numbers of inhabitants have been estimated for each century and are rounded off to the nearest 100,000 per area.

We estimated urbanisation ratios from the numbers of inhabitants of cities from Paul Bairoch *et al.*, because their data stretches back in time.[40] We also needed the total numbers of inhabitants in an area to calculate the urbanisation

[38] F. DÉROCHE, "Les manuscrits arabes datés du IIIe/IXe siècle", *Revue des Études Islamiques 55-57* (1987-1989), pp. 343-379.

[39] C. MCEVEDY and R. JONES, *Atlas of World Population History* (New York, 1979).

[40] P. BAIROCH, J. BATOU, and P. CHÈVRE, *La population des villes Européennes de 800 à 1850* (Geneva, 1988).

**Table 1** Population per area in millions (based on Colin McEvedy and Richard Jones).[41]

| *Century* | *6* | *7* | *8* | *9* | *10* | *11* | *12* | *13* | *14* | *15* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ctreur | 1.8 | 1.9 | 2.2 | 2.5 | 3.2 | 3.7 | 3.8 | 6.5 | 6.8 | 7.4 |
| Boh | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 1.6 |
| Brit | 0.9 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.8 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 4.3 | 4.2 | 4.3 |
| Fran | 4.8 | 4.8 | 4.9 | 5.2 | 5.8 | 7.2 | 9.1 | 13.3 | 13.5 | 13.0 |
| Belg | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.0 |
| Neth | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.8 |
| Germ | 3.1 | 3.1 | 3.2 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 3.8 | 5.0 | 7.5 | 7.8 | 7.8 |
| Switz | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| Austr | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 1.1 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 |
| Italy | 4.0 | 3.6 | 3.8 | 4.3 | 4.8 | 5.4 | 6.5 | 8.6 | 8.5 | 8.5 |
| Iberia | 4.3 | 3.9 | 3.9 | 4.2 | 4.4 | 4.9 | 5.9 | 7.6 | 7.6 | 7.1 |
| Latin West | 20.7 | 19.9 | 20.9 | 22.9 | 25.8 | 30.2 | 37.3 | 53.4 | 54.1 | 53.8 |

ratios, and for those we used Table 1. We are aware that the earlier estimates in Table 2 are probably quite weak; however, the more reliable urbanisation data of Jan de Vries only begins in 1500.[42] For a few cities on the Iberian Peninsula and for Palermo the numbers of inhabitants taken from Bairoch *et al.* have been adapted downwards.[43] For Paris we have adapted the numbers of inhabitants in 1300 slightly upwards according to the hearth census from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[44] However, we encountered somewhat of a problem for the Iberian Peninsula in particular. We initially estimated two

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] J. DE VRIES, *European Urbanization 1500-1800* (London, 1984).

[43] The estimates of BAIROCH *et al.* were corrected for a number of extreme outliers, Cordoba (on the basis of T.F. GLICK, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1979)) and Palermo (email exchanges with Jeremy Johns and S.R. Epstein); according to BAIROCH *et al.* Cordoba was supposed to have 450,000 inhabitants at about 1000 (but only 110,000 according to Glick), Palermo's size was 350,000 according to BAIROCH *et al.*, whereas our estimate (following Epstein and Johns) is 60,000. For Malaga we scaled the numbers of inhabitants downwards to 10,000 in 800 and 20,000 in 900 and 1000, for Seville to 52,000 in 900 and 1000, for Valencia to 11,000 and 15,000 and in Zaragoza to 12,000 and 17,000 for both cities in 800 and 900. The most recent numbers of inhabitants and urbanisation ratios can be found in M. BOSKER, E. BURINGH, and J.L. VAN ZANDEN, "From Baghdad to London: Unraveling urban development in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, 800-1800", *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 95.4 (2013), pp. 1418-1437.

[44] The number of hearths in Paris was 61,098 was according to a census in 1328 leading to some 250,000 Parisian inhabitants in 1300. Afterwards we estimated that the number of inhabitants was probably not more than 200,000 in 1400 and 1500, instead of the 275,000 and

**Table 2** Estimates of urbanisation ratios for the sixth to fifteenth centuries in the Latin West, calculations.[45]

| *Century* | *6* | *7* | *8* | *9* | *10* | *11* | *12* | *13* | *14* | *15* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ctreur | | | | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 1.6 |
| Boh | | | | 0.0 | 0.7 | 1.3 | 0.9 | 2.0 | 4.3 | 5.9 |
| Brit | | | | 0.4 | 2.4 | 3.2 | 2.6 | 2.8 | 3.0 | 2.1 |
| Fran | | | 1.7[46] | 2.9 | 3.4 | 4.2 | 5.3 | 6.0 | 6.2 | 6.3 |
| Belg | | | | 0.0 | 3.0 | 7.5 | 11.0 | 15.0 | 26.2 | 29.6 |
| Neth | | | | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.5 | 5.1 | 4.0 | 9.8 |
| Germ | | | 1.8 | 3.5 | 4.8 | 5.3 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 5.0 | 5.0 |
| Switz | | | | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 2.3 |
| Austr | | | | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| Italy | | | 2.3 | 4.2 | 6.5 | 8.4 | 9.7 | 12.5 | 13.7 | 13.1 |
| Iber. (Christian) | | | | 0.6 | 2.4 | 3.5 | 5.2 | 5.6 | 7.6 | 9.6 |
| Iberia (Muslim) | | | 4.5 | 10.0 | 13.5 | 16.4 | 13.2 | 36.2 | 23.3 | 13.8 |
| Latin West | | | 1.8 | 3.5 | 4.8 | 5.4 | 5.6 | 6.1 | 6.7 | 6.9 |

sets of urbanisation ratios: one for the Christian part of the country and another for the Muslim part. But because the loss rate of books in the Muslim part was most likely substantially larger than in the rest of the Peninsula, we decided not to include the Muslim part of the country in our data set of production rates. Thus the estimates of manuscript production that we will present later only cover the Christian part of the Iberian Peninsula.

We have used the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* to find the distribution of founding dates of medieval universities in the Latin West.[46] These foundation dates are presented in Table 3.

Other historical data essential to understanding early medieval manuscript production are those of local monastic institutions. Unfortunately, there is not any one publication, as in the case of the population data, which can present us with the information we need for the whole of Europe. The quest for these numbers of monasteries begins with a preliminary question: what exactly is a

225,000 respectively presented by BAIROCH *et al.* See N.J.G. POUNDS, "Overpopulation in France and the Low Countries in the later Middle Ages", *Journal of Social History*, 3 (1969), p. 225-47, at p. 237.

[45] Based on Paul Bairoch *et al.*, *La population*. The numbers in grey prior to the ninth century are tentative extrapolations departing from BAIROCH *et al.* For 700 we estimated the number of inhabitants of a city as 0.2 * the population in 800, with a minimum of 17,000 inhabitants in 800, ensuring a century average above 10,000. Prior to the eighth century urbanisation rates outside of Italy would have been very low in the Latin West.

[46] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th edn., 25 vols. (Glasgow, 1898), 23, pp. 531-358, at p. 558.

**Table 3** Numbers of universities in the Latin West.[47]

| | *11* | *12* | *13* | *14* | *15* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ctreur | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 5 |
| Boh | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Brit | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| Fran | 0 | 1 | 4 | 10 | 15 |
| Belg | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Neth | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Germ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| Switz | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Austr | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Italy | 1* | 4 | 10 | 17 | 17 |
| Iberia | 0 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 9 |
| Latin West | 1 | 6 | 20 | 45 | 64 |

* one university (Salerno) in existence since ninth century[48]

monastery? In their book on religious houses in England and Wales during the period of the Middle Ages, David Knowles and Richard Neville Hadcock touch on this crucial point, that is, the definition of a 'monastery'. The authors come to the conclusion that everyone must decide for himself what exactly he means by a religious house or a monastery; for instance, does one include colleges, regular hospitals, the military orders and cells or priories with only a few monks? They indicate that many may feel that a religious house is primarily an establishment with a community large enough for one to pursue a family life of liturgical service and regular observance. It should be remembered that an abbot and twelve monks traditionally comprised the number of a new foundation.[49] An overview merely including numbers of monasteries would not, however, encompass the range of monastic diversity and their differences in size and varying influence on the manufacture of books in the Latin West. To a certain extent our final Table 4, which presents an estimate of the total number of monastic institutions in the Latin West, results in an oversimplification,

[47] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 23, pp. 531-358.

[48] Jacques Verger indicates that in his opinion the status of Salerno as a university is debatable (J. VERGER, "The universities", in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, 6, *c. 1300-c. 1415*, ed. M. JONES (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 66-81, at p. 70.

[49] D. KNOWLES and R.N. HADCOCK, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, 2nd edn. (London, 1971), p. 45.

**Table 4** Cumulative numbers of monasteries in the Latin West (sixth to fifteenth centuries).[50]

| area: | *6* | *7* | *8* | *9* | *10* | *11* | *12* | *13* | *14* | *15* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CentrE | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 79 | 458 | 878 | 893 | 888 |
| Boh | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 32 | 113 | 172 | 166 | 171 |
| Brit | 236 | 460 | 463 | 437 | 437 | 526 | 1,325 | 1,742 | 1,701 | 1,572 |
| Fran | 586 | 988 | 1,240 | 1,636 | 2,091 | 5,051 | 8,104 | 8,974 | 8,627 | 7,959 |
| Belg | 0 | 53 | 68 | 70 | 88 | 175 | 313 | 389 | 384 | 356 |
| Neth | 0 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 13 | 20 | 68 | 189 | 336 | 679 |
| Germ | 0 | 138 | 622 | 824 | 1,129 | 1,652 | 2,873 | 3,330 | 3,236 | 2,997 |
| Switz | 10 | 19 | 37 | 71 | 104 | 144 | 247 | 341 | 355 | 350 |
| Austr | 12 | 11 | 70 | 99 | 113 | 186 | 344 | 430 | 451 | 407 |
| Italy | 291 | 306 | 495 | 704 | 995 | 2,072 | 2,990 | 3,951 | 4,155 | 4,079 |
| Iberia | 58 | 117 | 170 | 537 | 1,340 | 2,549 | 3,290 | 3,398 | 3,185 | 3,093 |
| Latin West | 1,193 | 2,094 | 3,168 | 4,385 | 6,343 | 12,485 | 20,125 | 23,794 | 23,489 | 22,551 |

because different orders varied considerably in the number of manuscripts they copied, and these numbers also changed considerably over time.[51]

## *Results*

### *Numbers of Surviving Manuscripts (M)*

The numbers M were estimated with the procedures described previously, in which every alphanumeric entity or shelfmark of the different libraries was

[50] Sources for the Netherlands: M. SCHOENGEN, *Monasticon Batavum*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam, 1941-1942), 1, *De Franciskaansche orden*; 2, *De Augustijnsche orden*; 3, *De Benedictijnsche orden*. For the Iberian Peninsula adapted from: *Diccionario de historia eclesiastica de España*, ed. Q.A. VAQUERO, T.M. MARTINEZ, and J.V. GATELL, 4 vols. and supl. 1 (Madrid, 1972-1987). For the other areas: L.H. COTTINEAU, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 2 vols. (Macon, 1939), adapted with a decay rate of 10% per century for monasteries, and Cottineau's numbers adapted for Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Bohemia and Central Europe by a factor of three. For the Carmelites: J. SMET, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of our Lady of Mount Carmel, ca. 1200 A.D. until the Council of Trent* (Rome, 1975). For the Franciscans: L. IRIARTE, *Geschiedenis van de franciskaanse beweging* (Utrecht, 1985). For the Franciscans (in Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland) and Dominicans: *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte* H. JEDIN, K.S. LATOURETTE, and J. MARTIN (Freiburg, 1970), maps 58 and 59 respectively.

[51] See e.g. NEDDERMEYER, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*.

**Table 5** Origin and estimated numbers of surviving manuscripts from the first nineteen centuries AD.

| Area | $N_{libr}$ in dbase | Estimated # of $M_{libr}$ | Average # per manuscript in dbase | $N_{total}$ in dbase | Estimated # of manuscripts (M) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| America | 44 | 2,350 | 53 | 91 | 5,000 |
| Ethiopia | 38 | 6,619 | 174 | 75 | 15,000 |
| Armenia | 274 | 21,561 | 79 | 315 | 25,000 |
| Orthodox East | 1132 | 141,635 | 125 | 1,525 | 200,000 |
| Eastern Asia | 316 | 63,842 | 202 | 845 | 200,000 |
| Indian subcontinent | 228 | 32,198 | 141 | 2,851 | 400,000 |
| Orient | 1,622 | 297,378 | 183 | 4,264 | 800,000 |
| Latin West | 14,362 | 968,882 | 67 | 19,892 | 1,300,000 |
| Total | 18,016 | 1.5 million | - | 29,858 | 2.9 million |

distributed proportionally over the eight larger regions of origin.[52] This method has been applied to the database, containing manuscripts from 704 libraries, for which it has 18,016 entries ($N_{libr}$). The total number of different shelfmarks (alphanumeric entities) in the libraries is 2658. All manuscripts in institutions with names that included terms such as 'museum', 'archive', etc. were not included in $N_{libr}$. Furthermore, only shelfmarks that contained numeric entities could be used for the estimate of $M_{libr}$. Finally, all the other manuscripts that were missed in the previous exercise because of incomplete shelfmarks or because those manuscripts housed in museums, archives, or still in private hands, will be used for the calculation of the total numbers (M), as described above and are included under $N_{total}$.

The total number of existing manuscripts (M) is estimated in Table 5 to be somewhere around 2.9 million. The above numbers exclude Egyptian papyri, Genizah fragments, sheet music, autograph letters, deeds, charters and printed matter. For the second column of Table 5, all manuscripts in libraries with alphanumeric parts of the shelfmarks that hinted at such categories as those

[52] We can present an example with the largest single alphanumeric entity: that of 'Add' in the British Library in London, for which we estimated a total of 74,442 manuscripts with a sample of 641 in the database. Of these 641, some 486 were from the Latin West, contributing 56,441 to the 968,882 manuscripts in the numbers of $M_{libr}$; the others in 'Add', coming from the Orient etc., have been distributed accordingly.

above were excluded, such as urk., roll, chart., atti., perg., mus hs, kdz., kupf kab., arch., inc., ink., pap., psi, ed vet., and membran. In addition, this number of 2.9 million only includes manuscripts on which information has been published. Quite a few eighteenth- or nineteenth-century or earlier manuscripts resting in some attic or other place, and therefore never having been published anywhere, will necessarily have been missed with the current approach for sheer lack of information. In a discussion of the validation of these numbers of still extant manuscripts we will indicate that for a number of areas for which publications of existing manuscripts are largely lacking, such as Eastern Asia, the Indian subcontinent and in all likelihood the Orient as well, our estimates are almost certainly too low.

Just over half of the estimated 2.9 million manuscripts are in libraries (1.5 million), and the rest are in museums and archives or still in private hands. These numbers have to be seen as mere indications of an order of magnitude. Certainly the digits after the decimal point are merely indicative. Later on, we will compare the values found with estimates of the numbers of manuscripts based on other sources.

We cannot compare the total number of 2.9 million manuscripts (M) presented above with some known value, because such a figure does not exist. In the introduction we presented estimates of various subsets, and probably this is the right place to compare the values of our estimates with those of the subsets and also with some additional references, which have only recently come to light.[53] We can also compare the numbers we found for specific libraries with the values that those libraries reported themselves, or with the values that can be found in references in the literature. A third validation can be found through the extensive work of Paul Oskar Kristeller and Sigrid Krämer.[54] Their studies present us with an opportunity to compare the database estimate for catalogued libraries in the Latin West with the numbers such as those reported in the catalogues. Finally, we used the study of Paul Oskar Kristeller and Sigrid Krämer to make an independent estimate of the numbers of manuscripts in libraries, and their overall value differed – 3% with our own estimate from the database.[55]

[53] C. SIRAT, *Writing as Handwork: A History of Handwriting in Mediterranean and Western culture* (Turnhout, 2006: *Bibliologia* 24); S. POLLOCK, "Literary culture and manuscript culture in precolonial India", in : *Literary Cultures and the Material Book*, ed. S. ELIOT, A. NASH, and I. WILLISON (London, 2007), pp. 77-94.

[54] KRISTELLER and KRÄMER, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600*.

[55] Data not shown; see BURINGH, *Medieval Manuscript Production*.

*Validation of Some Subsets*

Independent checks of Arabic, Hebrew, Armenian and German manuscripts surviving globally are possible because such numbers have been found in various references. For the sake of simplicity we will generally consider the reported values as 'standards', even though the reliability of these figures cannot be tested, as information substantiating their values is generally lacking and we have therefore been obliged to take their numbers at face value.

Jonathan Bloom presented an estimate of 600,000 extant Arabic manuscripts.[56] Bloom's estimate of Arabic manuscript books surviving from the period before printing was introduced represents only a minute fraction of what was originally produced. The database estimate (Table 5) comes to 800,000 manuscripts, which in our opinion is not such a poor match (+ 33%). However, Colette Sirat indicates that some two million books written in Arabic characters are believed to be extant currently.[57] As this estimate, made by Marc Geoffroy, was based on his personal experience with numbers of manuscripts in uncatalogued private Arabic libraries, we tend to concur with this higher number of two million manuscripts; thus we must conclude that the method we have employed has necessarily underestimated the total numbers of surviving Arabic manuscripts considerably, though we probably have made a reasonable estimate of the numbers that are in public libraries or collections somewhere in the world and that have been described in some way.

Raphael Posner and Israel Ta-Shema have indicated that probably some 60,000 Jewish manuscripts survive.[58] The database contains 444 manuscripts from different countries with manuscripts written in Hebrew letters. These Jewish manuscripts have of course been included under their different countries of origin. If the contents of the database are used to estimate the global numbers of surviving Jewish manuscripts, we arrive at 43,000 manuscripts. The order of magnitude compares well (– 29%) with the global total number of 60,000 Jewish manuscripts just presented. Colette Sirat presents an estimate of some 80,000 handwritten books in Hebrew letters surviving, of which some 40,000-50,000 are medieval.[59] These numbers also do not differ too much from the estimates presented above.

[56] BLOOM, *Paper before Print*, p. 93.

[57] SIRAT, *Writing as Handwork*, p. 50, based on a personal communication by Marc Geoffroy.

[58] *The Hebrew Book*, p. 20.

[59] SIRAT, *Writing as Handwork*, p. 52.

Recently Jos Weitenberg *et al.* suggested 30,000 as the current total global number of Armenian manuscripts.[60] The database estimate in Table 5 comes to some 25,000 extant Armenian manuscripts ( – 17%), which also compares rather well. Colette Sirat (citing others) estimates that some 25,000 Armenian manuscripts survive.[61] This number also resembles what we have found.

For the medieval German-speaking *Reich*, Uwe Neddermeyer proposed a figure of 120,000-130,000 surviving manuscripts.[62] The database contains 2074 medieval manuscripts from Germany, while for the Latin West the database has 17,352 manuscripts. Evenly distributing the estimated total number of 1.3 million manuscripts from the Latin West over the German fraction leads to a rough estimate of 155,000 surviving German manuscripts based on the database, resulting in + 24% of Neddermeyer's estimate, indicating another reasonable match.

For the Indian subcontinent there is, however, a very large difference between a recent estimate presented by Sheldon Pollock of the number of surviving Indian manuscripts (some 30 million in total) and our estimate of 0.4 million.[63] Pollock presents the Indira Ghandi National Centre for the Arts as his source for the surviving number of Indian manuscripts. In 2004, this centre began a large and comprehensive nationwide survey to build an exhaustive picture of all existing and mainly non-catalogued manuscripts surviving in repositories across India. The first results, of 53 districts in three states (Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa), have been published online and they come to, respectively, more than 200,000, 150,000 and 290,000 manuscripts found during field surveys in visits to nearly 35,000 different local repositories. Of the various indicators the number of manuscripts found per number of inhabitants has the lowest range for the three states; thus, by using the number of inhabitants of India compared to those in the 53 districts of the actual field survey we can probably make the most robust estimate of the Indian total to arrive at an estimated 6.8 million manuscripts in India alone. This number, based on recent and likely exhaustive local surveys, is somewhat less than the 30 million alluded to above, but still considerably higher than our estimate in Table 5. We tend, however, to prefer this number of some seven million for India, as our method with the database fails us when publications about ordinary local

[60] WEITTENBERG *et al.*, *Armenië*, p. 55.
[61] SIRAT, *Writing as Handwork*, p. 51.
[62] NEDDERMEYER, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, 1, p. 87.
[63] POLLOCK, "Literary culture and manuscript culture in precolonial India", p. 87.

manuscripts are lacking, as is obviously the case in India. If we want to estimate the numbers for the Indian subcontinent such as we defined it (also including Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka), we believe that an estimate of nearly ten million surviving manuscripts might be more appropriate.

We expect a somewhat similar difference to arise between our own estimate for Eastern Asia in Table 5 and the true figures of local manuscripts. We expect there will be quite a number of local manuscripts in countries like Tibet, or in other, mainly Southeast Asian, countries, such as Thailand, Myanmar and Indonesia. We expect such manuscripts to be lying somewhere in repositories which have never before been catalogued or counted, and that therefore most certainly would have been missed in our approach, in a situation similar to that of the Indian subcontinent. An analogous remark should be made about our estimated numbers of Ethiopian manuscripts. Nevertheless, for America we expect the numbers estimated with our method to more or less withstand scrutiny, as we cannot imagine that scores of unknown local manuscripts have yet to be found in some Mesoamerican or South American repositories.

Colette Sirat gives us yet another opportunity to test the database, as she presented the numbers of surviving medieval Byzantine manuscripts (these were included in our estimate in Table 5 under the Orthodox East together with those from the Slavic countries).[64] Her estimate comes to 50,000, while a search within the database indicates that our estimate would be some 56,000 manuscripts in libraries. We arrive at a total of 64,000 surviving Byzantine manuscripts (including manuscripts in Greek Orthodox monasteries), if we also include those currently housed in museums and archives in our estimate, leading to a difference of + 28%.

All in all, we believe that the estimates we arrived at through the methodical approach that we followed have presented quite reasonable results for the estimates of numbers of surviving manuscripts in the Latin West, as well as of those of Armenian and Byzantine origin, or of those written in Hebrew letters. However, for the other areas we may expect substantial regional differences, probably of a factor of two to three for Arabic manuscripts, and for some other areas even up to more than a factor of ten, as less of the local manuscripts are published or catalogued, as is clear from the example of the Indian subcontinent.

[64] SIRAT, *Writing as Handwork*, p. 51, a personal communication from Jean Irigoin.

*Loss Rates from Medieval Libraries*

For the calculation of the English loss rates in percent per century of manuscripts from lists in different periods, we have mainly used the studies reported by Neil Ker.[65] He and his predecessors have done a very thorough job over decades of research in reporting the survival of medieval manuscripts from libraries in England. Concrete information from 46 of the 52 medieval libraries, regarding their original sizes and the currently surviving numbers of manuscripts, was garnered from *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*. The other six sets of English manuscripts come from other, generally more recent sources. Summarised information on the individual libraries and their survival or their references can be found elsewhere.[66] One of the references we used for Table 6 presented a surviving fraction, so we have only 51 sets with current numbers. We based our calculations of the English loss rates in Table 6 on a total of 1725 surviving manuscripts from medieval libraries, which at the time had been estimated to have contained 19,527 manuscripts. This would imply, if our sample in Table 6 had been representative, that an average English medieval library would have contained some 380 manuscripts. This seems rather large.[67] It is quite conceivable that larger libraries would have needed catalogues more often, or would have used shelfmarks more frequently than smaller libraries, and that therefore such larger institutions may be over-represented in our sample. In part, such a relatively high (arithmetic-wise) average library size is a result of a few very large institutions such as those in Canterbury, Bury St. Edmunds and Norwich, as shown in the sample. Because we have such a skewed sample, the median value of a medieval English library is considerably lower than the average of 152 manuscripts.[68] The compilation of our sample implies that we had to investigate whether the size of medieval libraries influenced the values of the loss rates that we calculated (it turned out that size did not matter[69]). The 52 calculated

[65] KER, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*.

[66] Respectively in Annex L and N in: BURINGH, *Medieval Manuscript Production*.

[67] The average value of the size of contemporary French institutional libraries was 113 manuscripts in the twelfth century, which rises to some 200 manuscripts in the fifteenth, as can be deduced from data in A-M. GENEVOIS, J-F. GENEST, A. CHALANDON, and M-J. BEAUD, *Bibliothèques de manuscrits médiévaux en France, relevé des inventaires du VII^e au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1987).

[68] The geometric average size of the libraries in our sample in Table 4.1 comes to 169 manuscripts.

[69] Data not shown; see BURINGH, *Medieval Manuscript Production*.

**Table 6** Medieval loss rates in % per century in England.

| *Century i* | *12* | *13* | *14* | *15* | *16* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Loss rates: | -11% -36%<br>-18% -32% | -27% -38%<br>-15% -40%<br>-29% -29% | -52% -54%<br>-44% -39%<br>-31% -38%<br>-34% -41%<br>-35% -39%<br>-32% -16%<br>-42% -47%<br>-35% | -30% -36%<br>-47% -28%<br>-64% -44%<br>-41% -28%<br>-41% -38%<br>-9% -49%<br>-39% -45%<br>-39% -56%<br>-45% -58%<br>-52% -42%<br>-39% | -65% -47%<br>-18% -40%<br>-55% -58% |
| Geometric average $L_i$ | **-22%** | **-28%** | **-37%** | **-39%** | **-44%** |

English loss rates for manuscripts from various centuries are presented in Table 6.

The individual loss rates of the libraries in Table 6 vary considerably, between – 9% to – 65% per century, and therefore we averaged them geometrically. We find it quite remarkable that the averaged values of the loss rates of more recent manuscripts, such as those from the sixteenth century, seem to be higher than those of earlier centuries, such as the twelfth.

The average loss rates of English manuscripts vary from – 22% to – 44% per century (Table 6). Numerically such values imply that since the date of the original catalogue or medieval list, approximately a quarter to two-fifths of the manuscripts have disappeared in every century. The searches done by Neil Ker and his predecessors included all known English manuscripts currently housed in 314 different collections and libraries in twenty countries. Such a thorough search indicates that the not-included English manuscripts have disappeared from publicly catalogued collections, and have therefore, in all likelihood, disappeared from the surface of the earth. It does not seem plausible that these unaccounted-for manuscripts are all lingering in some as yet unheard-of private collection or insufficiently catalogued public library, though we will never be absolutely sure whether some isolated manuscripts might not be doing just that. Even if this were the case, though, the numerical values would not really change, because even a doubling of the surviving numbers of manuscripts would generally lead to a loss rate that is only 10%-15% lower per century,

since loss rates are calculated as an equal fraction lost every century. If in the future more manuscripts could be deemed to have survived than can currently be found in Neil Ker's lists, this would probably not influence our averages in a noticeable way. We believe the values of the loss rates might only slightly decrease, because the averages in our study are arrived at by geometric means.

There are other results with which we can compare Table 6. In our study we reported the calculated loss rates of fourteenth-century English manuscripts, based on a study by Roger Mynors *et al.* (1991).[70] Mynors' study was conducted independently of Ker's and contains the titles of manuscripts that monks found when visiting more than 90 institutions around 1310 in England. The books they assembled in the list – known as the *Registrum Anglie* – were mainly those written by learned Church Fathers; service books and those written by more recent theological authors, or by classical authors, were generally excluded from the register. In our study the various institutions have been ordered according to their loss rates, which have been calculated according to our standard practices. More information on the 92 English institutions and the 6,193 individual titles they originally contained, as well as the 400 currently remaining manuscripts, can be found in the references given in our Annex M.

The geometric average loss rate for all manuscripts on the *Registrum Anglie* was – 37%. This is a loss rate for the fourteenth century, and it compares remarkably well with the geometric average fourteenth-century loss rate of – 37% of English institutions, calculated independently, and presented in Table 6.

The paradigm shift we announced in the methodical introduction was to include those institutions for which currently no manuscripts survive in the calculations of the loss rates. We managed to include a number of such loss rates for the continental Latin West, when we found references presenting medieval library size in terms of the number of manuscripts in combination with a statement that none of its manuscripts have survived.[71] If we take all 58 continental loss rates prior to and including the fifteenth century of which at least one manuscript survived, we find an average loss rate of – 24%. The ten contemporary continental libraries for which no manuscripts at all have sur-

[70] Annex M in: BURINGH, *Medieval Manuscript Production*; *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum*, ed. R.H. ROUSE, M.A. ROUSE, and R.A.B. MYNORS (London, 1991).

[71] In Annex N of BURINGH, *Medieval Manuscript Production*, these loss rates can be found where the numbers of surviving manuscripts (Surv#) are indicated as ~0.4, which implies that we used a value of 0.4 manuscript to allow a calculation of a loss rate.

vived had a higher average loss rate of – 47% per century. Ten libraries with no surviving manuscripts out of a total of 58 libraries with extant manuscripts, suggest a missing fraction of at least 17% in the continental Latin West. These values should not be generalised straightaway, as we are not yet sure how representative they are. However, if bias is to be prevented, we should certainly make a serious effort to include in our calculations the libraries from which no manuscripts remain. For England we will have by definition missed such libraries, because Neil Ker only presents libraries with surviving manuscripts, implying there should be at least one manuscript remaining from any library in his study.[72] Nevertheless, the missing libraries of which nothing has survived would have influenced the average values of the loss rates presented in Table 6 if they would have been included. The average loss rates of Table 6 will therefore have been underestimated, because when this average was calculated the 'values' of libraries without surviving manuscripts could not be taken into account.[73]

As a final estimate of the proportion of missing institutions, a percentage of 20% is taken. For the size of these libraries with no surviving manuscripts a conservative estimate of some 40 manuscripts is taken and the 'missed' loss rates can then be calculated. The geometrically corrected fourteenth-century loss rate becomes – 40%, and can be simply calculated as: 37^0.8*54^0.2. For the whole period of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, the loss rates corrected for missed libraries have been estimated as – 25%, – 31%, – 40% and – 43%, respectively. For the loss rates in the period before the twelfth century, the value of – 25% will be taken, as no other information is available. However, dates derived from palimpsests generally confirm a value of a medieval loss rate of some – 25% per century.

With the found loss rates ($L_i$) the reciprocal survival factors ($RSurv_i$) can be calculated to compensate for losses over time. With a loss rate of – 25% per

[72] We can see that in Annex L of BURINGH, *Medieval Manuscript Production* the minimum number of manuscripts is one in the column (Surv#).

[73] A quick calculation can probably elucidate this point. Let us assume that a fifteenth-century library originally containing only four manuscripts has none left now. The calculated loss rate for this very small hypothetical library (assuming a survival of 0.4 manuscript) would already be – 37% per century. If this hypothetical library would have had a larger size, say 40 manuscripts, the calculated loss rate would become – 60% per century. Such a loss rate is already considerably larger than the fifteenth-century average loss rate of – 39% in Table 2, calculated on the basis of the libraries that contained still extant manuscripts. This quick estimate indicates that including missing libraries wherein nothing remains will probably make the numerical values of the estimated loss rates higher.

century we can calculate that in the twentieth century the numbers of surviving sixth-century manuscripts have to be multiplied by a reciprocal survival factor ($Rsurv_i$) of 56.1 (calculated as: 1/(0.75^14)) to find the numbers that were originally produced in the Latin West in the sixth century. For the other centuries, the reciprocal survival factors are calculated similarly. Only for the fourteenth century does the so-calculated reciprocal survival factor (with a value of 21.4) seem to be an outlier when compared to the others; therefore, the fourteenth-century reciprocal survival factor calculated above has been rejected and been replaced by a value of 15.0. This value, which is the average reciprocal survival factor for the adjacent thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (13.4 + 16.6)/2, has been used as there are no compelling historical reasons to assume that on average fourteenth-century manuscripts would have had a significantly different fate from those of the preceding (thirteenth) or following (fifteenth) centuries.

### *Production Rates of Manuscripts in the Latin West*

The values of $Rsurv_i$ have been presented and elucidated above, and we used those values to arrive at the estimated production per century in the past ($W_i$). By multiplying the surviving numbers of manuscripts ($M_i$) with the reciprocal survival factor ($Rsurv_i$). Finally, when the century totals ($W_i$) are multiplied with the fraction composed of the spatially corrected numbers per area and century in the database, which are divided by the century totals, the absolute manuscript production ($W_{i,k}^{Lat\text{-}West}$) in that area (k) and century (i) has been estimated (see Table 7).

Note that the number of significant digits of the values in the various tables will certainly not be more than one or two; nevertheless, in order to minimise a propagation of errors, all digits have been presented in the tables above.

### *Checks on the Estimated Medieval Production Rates*

We performed a number of checks on the results produced with our approach. We will highlight two of the checks here, because the first of them allows a spatial comparison over the whole area of the Latin West, while the second concentrates on one area of manuscript production – and one of the

**Table 7** Spatial distribution per area (k) of manuscripts written in century (i) in the Latin West ($W_{i,k}^{Lat\text{-}West}$) in absolute numbers per century.

| Area (k) | *Century (i)* 6th | 7th | 8th | 9th | 10th | 11th | 12th | 13th | 14th | 15th |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ctreur | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3,983 | 27,530 | 120,987 | 301,833 | 376,650 |
| Boh | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 657 | 1,136 | 5,377 | 42,066 | 45,363 |
| Brit | 81 | 1,026 | 5,474 | 7,926 | 9,793 | 20,360 | 81,044 | 200,654 | 155,513 | 208,729 |
| Fran | 1,682 | 2,441 | 15,920 | 74,190 | 12,752 | 45,061 | 197,831 | 510,828 | 564,624 | 1,195,783 |
| Belg | 0 | 127 | 1,111 | 3,029 | 1,555 | 8,529 | 43,219 | 119,588 | 106,148 | 572,124 |
| Neth | 0 | 26 | 60 | 82 | 58 | 354 | 1,731 | 2,066 | 13,179 | 171,974 |
| Germ | 0 | 0 | 7,503 | 59,771 | 45,703 | 49,548 | 166,876 | 270,392 | 293,814 | 515,116 |
| Switz | 0 | 30 | 594 | 5,330 | 1,799 | 1,090 | 2,355 | 3,821 | 6,349 | 10,652 |
| Austr | 0 | 0 | 2,735 | 9,414 | 0 | 2,808 | 37,370 | 37,408 | 39,777 | 88,623 |
| Italy | 10,194 | 4,478 | 6,536 | 20,307 | 15,215 | 38,768 | 95,207 | 253,013 | 879,364 | 1,423,668 |
| Iberia | 1,594 | 2,512 | 3,770 | 21,693 | 48,763 | 40,871 | 114,422 | 237,818 | 344,284 | 390,478 |
| Latin West | 13,552 | 10,639 | 43,702 | 201,742 | 135,637 | 212,030 | 768,721 | 1,761,951 | 2,746,951 | 4,999,161 |

most important – France, and thereby allows insight into the correlation of the estimates over time. For the other comparisons, and a completely independent comparison based on the demand side of medieval manuscripts, the reader is referred elsewhere. As other studies produce quite similar results as the two presented here, they will not be elaborated.[74]

## *Comparison of Production Rates with Petrucci's Census*

In his book on *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, Armando Petrucci devotes a chapter to the literacy of early medieval scribes. To this end he made a broad census of medieval scribes in the Latin West covering the period from the seventh to tenth centuries. Petrucci describes that his census is

> based principally on three sources: the *CLA*, the Benedictines of le Bouveret's *Colophons*, and the fourth volume of the monumental work of Emile Lesne. Because it has not been possible to check most of the data, these results must of course be qualified by the fact that the dating of the codices remains in doubt in several cases and that the geographical distribution of data seems strongly conditioned by the state of cataloguing.[75]

[74] BURINGH, *Medieval Manuscript Production*.

[75] A. PETRUCCI, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written*

In all, Armando Petrucci collected 388 names of scribes then working in the Latin West in his census. The geographical area of origin of a scribe was not known in all cases for which he could find a name. For the first period of the seventh to the eighth centuries, the geographical origin was known for 45 of the 67 named scribes. For the next period, that of the ninth century and the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries, the number of scribes who could be named was 212, of which Petrucci could find the origins of 151. And for the last period, the tenth century, he listed 109 names, for 75 which he found the geographical origin.

We may safely assume that for a certain area and time there is a direct relationship between the number of scribes and the number of manuscripts they produce. Though the census of Petrucci is in no way absolute in giving us an insight into the total number of scribes that were active in that period in the Latin West, because of its geographical distribution the census presents a quite intriguing relative picture. This geographical distribution of scribes can be compared with the geographical distribution of the manuscript production that we estimated. In Table 8 the geographical distribution of Petrucci's scribes during the three different periods is presented together with the estimated numbers of manuscripts that were produced in those periods.

Table 8 shows a high correlation between the geographical distribution of the numbers of scribes and the numbers of manuscripts that we estimated were produced in these areas in the three periods. The explained variance is respectively 78%, 88% and again 78% per period, indicating that even for these early periods we may have some confidence in the geographical distribution of the estimated manuscript production. This also demonstrates that, even though we have not made any correction either for possible geographical differences in the frequency of the uses of early medieval names in written material or for the reservations of Armando Petrucci concerning the applicability of his data, we nonetheless find a high correlation between numbers of scribes and numbers of manuscripts produced in the Latin West.

We should certainly not see the scribes of Table 8 as the absolute number of scribes then living. Each scribe for whom Petrucci found a name so many centuries later, may of course represent a much larger number of anonymous scribes – even several orders of magnitude more – of whom we currently know nothing at all. For instance, on the basis of the work of Dom Cottineau we have estimated (see Table 4) that there were nearly 1000 monasteries in the seventh

*Culture*, trans. C.M. RADDING (New Haven, 1995), pp. 95-96.

**Table 8** Geographical distributions of the numbers of scribes in Latin West (source: Petrucci[76]) and the numbers of produced manuscripts with the database from Table 6.

| | *7th/8th cent.* | | *9th cent.* | | *10th cent.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | scribes | mss | scribes | mss | scribes | Mss |
| CentrE | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 |
| Boh | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 |
| Brit | 2 | 6,500 | 2 | 7,926 | 2 | 9,793 |
| Fran | 21 | 18,361 | 68 | 74,190 | 17 | 12,752 |
| Belg | - | 1,238 | - | 3,029 | - | 1,555 |
| Neth | - | 86 | - | 82 | - | 58 |
| Germ | 6 | 7,503 | 50 | 59,771 | 22 | 45,703 |
| Switz | 5 | 624 | 17 | 5,330 | 2 | 1,799 |
| Austr | - | 2,735 | - | 9,414 | - | 0 |
| Italy | 11 | 11,014 | 11 | 20,307 | 8 | 15,215 |
| Iberia | - | 6,282 | 3 | 21,693 | 24 | 48,763 |

- no scribes in Petrucci's census,
0 no production of manuscripts estimated

century in France. In the following century the number of French monasteries had risen to more than 1200, implying that most likely the number of local scribes during these two centuries should have been a multiple of the number of monasteries, if we assume that each monastery would have contained a number of scribes during the period of a century. Therefore, the number of 21 French scribes for whom history so kindly has passed down the names and their geographical origin is only a minuscule fraction of their past numbers. However, it is the relative distribution of copyists over the countries of the Latin West that is driving the correlation with manuscript production in Table 8. Even if the numbers of scribes in Petrucci's census had been a factor of 10,000 larger, we would still have found exactly the same amount of explained variance.

The results of this early medieval census by Armando Petrucci for the period of the seventh to the tenth centuries leads us to conclude that there is a high level of agreement between the database estimates of manuscript distribution and a completely independent census of the number of scribes in the Latin

[76] PETRUCCI, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*.

West. These scribes of course are an excellent indicator of manuscript production. We see this as a confirmation of the database estimate for this period.

*Comparison of Production Rates with Medieval French Stocks*

Two decades ago Anne-Marie Genevois and her associates at the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris published *Bibliothèques de manuscrits médiévaux en France, relevé des inventaires du VIII^e^ au XVIII^e^ siècle*, which contains references to nearly 2000 medieval and early modern inventories of manuscripts.[77] These lists were compiled between the eighth and eighteenth centuries in France. Such historical sources describing the manuscript contents of private or institutional libraries (churches, abbeys and monasteries) allowed us to quantify (a certain fraction of) the stocks of manuscripts in medieval France. As a next step, we compared the match between such indicators of medieval stocks and the values of our own estimates of historical French stocks of manuscripts. These last stocks may be simply calculated from our estimates of the French medieval production rates of manuscripts presented previously (in Table 7) by using a default loss rate of – 25% per century. If we find a high correlation between both series of data we may conclude that our previously estimated production figures have been corroborated by an independent historical source.

Anne-Marie Genevois and her colleagues tried to quantify the numbers of manuscripts named in all dispersed sources they could lay their hands on, as well as to date them; to identify, if possible, the name of the owner of the books in the document; and finally to establish where within the current borders of France the particular medieval library once existed. They explicitly included private libraries whenever they found some reference to manuscripts. Because Genevois *et al.* systematically included all documents that contained lists of manuscripts, they ended up with a huge variation of sources. Some sources were inventories or registers, but others were deeds of donation or charters concerning collateral or sale. As further sources they used account books, testaments or inventories made after a death, and even chronicles and correspondence.

For the period between the eighth and fifteenth centuries we have put all 971 French lists of manuscripts into a database. Of these we eventually used

[77] GENEVOIS *et al.*, *Bibliothèques de manuscrits médiévaux en France*.

876 lists because they contained information on either private (619) or institutional libraries (257) in France. The other 95 documents with lists of manuscripts may have concerned such matters as sales or a medieval contract to copy a manuscript. Such documents generally did not directly contribute useful quantitative information to estimate sizes of medieval libraries in France. Another reason for not using some of the documents was that there were occasionally too many referring to the same library within one century. If there was a second (or third) inventory made for the same institutional library in the same century, these additional documents were not used, in order to avoid double counting. Instead we only used one inventory per institution per century, i.e. the one which mentioned the largest number of manuscripts. Something similar has been done when private libraries of one specific owner were dispersed over different locations: the amount of manuscripts at the various locations belonging to the same owner have been added up and allocated to one place, because we were interested in the amount of manuscripts an individual possessed. This also led to the exclusion of some of the references to medieval documents.

A word of caution concerning the confidence that may be put in the numbers presented is warranted. On many occasions we only have a medieval list of the manuscripts that were donated by somebody to a specific church or abbey, or of a certain number of manuscripts that have been mentioned in a testament. These figures, presented by Genevois *et al.*, have generally been taken at their face value whenever we had nothing better to go on. We could nevertheless ask ourselves if the manuscripts listed in a deed of donation were the only ones the owner possessed when he gave them to an institution. Might that person possibly have had more manuscripts at his disposal than indicated, and was the documented donation only part of his 'library'? Will the numbers of the donation therefore be underestimated if we take them to represent the size of his personal library? We will never know, unfortunately. Genevois *et al.* present us with some examples indicating that, for instance, even a precise number in a testament could be an underestimate. Aimar Amiel, Bishop of Marseille, made a testament on 20 July 1329 which mentions five books. In an inventory after his death, which was compiled on 2 January 1334, the property of Aimar Amiel was found to contain 30 manuscripts. The practice of making inventories after a person had died only started in the fourteenth century in France, so these more precise late medieval inventories cannot help us to improve the reliability of the figures prior to that period. A similar example is that of the Parisian canon Pierre Fortet, who bequeathed in his testament (1391)

four and five manuscripts respectively to his two nephews Pierre and Girard, while an inventory after his death (1394) showed he actually possessed 98 volumes at the end of his life. All these examples reveal that concrete numbers of manuscripts mentioned in official documents could be quite different from the true number of books a person owned.

Even an inventory with a concrete number of manuscripts that were housed in an institutional ecclesiastical library may not be complete and can contribute to uncertainties in our estimates. Some of the lists that have come down to us were partial inventories and contained only the manuscripts that were kept in a specific part of a building, e.g. a choir or treasury, and do not represent the total number of manuscripts of the institution as a whole. An example may elucidate the phenomenon we can observe in some places, and which can to some degree obscure our view of the past.

The abbey of La Trinité at Fécamp has an exceptional number of surviving inventories dating from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries, which can be used to show how a sample of just one list (out of a whole set) may lead to large swings in our results and contribute to an increase in uncertainties. The oldest inventory of La Trinité dates from 1025 and lists 87 manuscripts; that number had increased to 176 by 1187. A thirteenth-century document states that for the daily part of the mass some 40 manuscripts were in general use around 1250. Somewhat later, in 1362, brother Thomas Mansel made an inventory of the treasury of the abbey and reported 80 liturgical and other manuscripts. However, in 1375 Adam Anfrai mentions only three liturgical manuscripts in a document. This latter number is confirmed by another document of 1400, which speaks of two Gospel books and one missal. A report of 1425 presents some 25 manuscripts, while a later document from the sixteenth century says that the choir of the abbey then contained six to eleven manuscripts. In 1617 Dom Charles Martel signals the sale of richly illuminated manuscripts from the abbey. And a document of 1682 indicates that just one missal remained. The last document of this enumeration concerning Fécamp, dated somewhat prior to 1699, indicates that after a number of sales the abbey still owned 113 manuscripts.

This quite exceptional set of documents for Fécamp Abbey represents in a nutshell the rise and fall of monasteries in that period. Unfortunately, for most of our ecclesiastical institutions we have just one single surviving document giving some number of manuscripts at a specific place and time instead of such an extensive set of lists as that of Fécamp. If for La Trinité that single sample

would have been the document of Adam Anfrai, we would have attributed three manuscripts to Fécamp in the fourteenth century. If, on the other hand, that only remaining document would have been that of brother Thomas Mansel, we would have counted 80 manuscripts in the abbey for the same period. Because we cannot correct for missing information, the presented values in historical documents have been taken at their face value, though they are not necessarily as complete as we would have liked them to be. The only thing we can be sure of is, that by their nature even concrete medieval numbers contribute to large margins of error in our estimates.

Manuscripts have always been something of a luxury product, and especially in early medieval times they were quite expensive. Only after the arrival of paper in Europe around the thirteenth century did prices gradually begin to decrease somewhat, with a sharper drop after the arrival of the printing press in the last decades of the fifteenth century. Therefore there is no reason a priori to presume that patterns of making inventories of valuable church or private commodities such as manuscripts, for instance when a new caretaker took over, or listing them in wills or deeds, would have changed fundamentally between the early medieval period and the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Such lists of testaments and inventories can be found universally from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries in the material collected. (There are only three lists dating to the second half of the eighth century, so that does not really present a reliable sample to test this aspect.) As such, the numbers of manuscripts found on the lists of Anne-Marie Genevois and her associates will likely mirror the movements of medieval manuscript use in France; thus they can be used as an indicator of available stocks of manuscripts. The numbers of manuscripts presented in the lists of manuscripts from inventories or legacies represent an (unknown) fraction of the total number of manuscripts that were then in general use in France. Though we do not know the actual number of manuscripts in use, we may assume that the relative patterns detected in inventories and legacies mirror general patterns of usage. This material, then, gives us a unique opportunity to compare our previous production rates of manuscripts with independent medieval information.

In Table 9 we present the overall results that can be derived from the 876 lists of manuscripts between the eighth and fifteenth centuries presented in *Bibliothèques de manuscrits médiévaux en France*. To clear up any ambiguities in the listings, we have rigorously applied a number of rules. For two different dates pertaining to one document the average has been taken, and if more than

**Table 9** Total numbers of manuscripts in France per century estimated from GENEVOIS *et al.*, *Bibliothèques de manuscrits médiévaux en France*.

| | *8th* | *9th* | *10th* | *11th* | *12th* | *13th* | *14th* | *15th* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Private | 17 | 344 | 173 | 200 | 1,097 | 1,681 | 9,274 | 16,941 |
| Institutional | 0 | 880 | 271 | 2,663 | 4,175 | 5,909 | 7,654 | 16,611 |
| Total | 34 | 1224 | 444 | 2,863 | 5,272 | 7,590 | 16,928 | 33,552 |

two dates were involved, for instance in a series of imprecisely dated donations, these have been attributed proportionally. If a list was attributed to two adjacent centuries we used dice to decide. Similarly, for a document only dated to the xth century we let chance determine a year for it: either (x-1)50 or (x-1)51, leading to equal fractions in either the first or second half of the century for such documents lacking a precise date. For a date *ante* y we used the first year divisible by five before y; similarly for *post* x the first year divisible by five after x. The wording "a few" manuscripts in Genevois *et al.* characterising the contents of a list of manuscripts has been quantified here as either 2 or 3 manuscripts. With a quantification of 'over z', the original number of z manuscripts has been augmented with 10%; similarly with a wording of 'almost z' we decreased its number by 10%. If a list was indicated as 'fragmentary', the numbers presented have been doubled to account for the missing number of manuscripts. Other missing numbers have, however, been dealt with separately at the end of the process. Per individual century the libraries containing no specific number of manuscripts or only a partial figure (e.g. "three manuscripts and his law books") have been given the average number of manuscripts for that century and category (private or institutional). 'Private' here means a person – typically named – who was either a donor, testator or owner of the listed manuscripts, while 'institutional' stands for inventories of manuscripts in libraries or treasuries mainly in churches, abbeys or monasteries. Such a procedure for filling in the missing numbers has been applied to 189 of the 619 private libraries and to 41 of the 257 institutional libraries, leading to the results presented in Table 9.

Two additional remarks remain to be made concerning Table 9. First, there is a minor point concerning the first half of the eighth century, for which Genevois *et al.* mentioned no libraries. Therefore we have doubled the total number of manuscripts for this century, as the production rates with which we will compare them later on were for whole centuries as well.

**Table 10** Estimated stocks of manuscripts in France and corrected total numbers of manuscripts from GENEVOIS *et al., Bibliothèques de manuscrits médiévaux en France*.

| | *8th* | *9th* | *10th* | *11th* | *12th* | *13th* | *14th* | *15th* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stocks | 18,697 | 88,213 | 78,911 | 104,245 | 276,014 | 717,839 | 1,103,003 | 2,023,035 |
| Corr. Genevois | 71 | 2,289 | 748 | 4,346 | 7,210 | 9,352 | 18,790 | 33,552 |

Secondly, we have to take into account that a list or a will concerning a few manuscripts from the eighth century would probably have had less chance of survival until the twenty-first century than a similar document from a number of centuries later. Presuming that the post-medieval losses are similar for both documents, we must still hypothesise some average value for the medieval losses of such administrative documents. We thought that a somewhat lower loss of – 10% than our generally applied medieval loss rate of – 25% would be fair for such lists or wills, as they probably would not have deteriorated through daily consultation. Contrary to the potential daily use of, for instance, liturgical manuscripts in churches, schoolbooks or books used by monks for daily spiritual contemplation, we assume that generally such administrative documents would have only been consulted occasionally rather than on a daily basis. An average loss rate of some – 10% per century implies that for every century before the fifteenth century we have to multiply the results in Table 9 by a factor of 1.11 (1/0.9) to compensate for medieval losses occurring to these documents. For the fourteenth century we then find 16,928*1.11 or a correction upwards with 11% to 18,790 manuscripts. For the eighth century this corrected number becomes 34* (1.11^7) or 71 manuscripts, more than doubling the original numbers derived from Genevois *et al.* The corrected values of Genevois *et al.* from Table 9 have been presented in Table 10. Also in Table 10 are the French stocks of medieval manuscripts, as we determined them from our previous production estimates (Table 7), thereby assuming a normal average medieval loss rate of – 25% per century.

These two series of figures in Table 10 have a very large explained variance (98%), indicating that both distributions are virtually similar. Even when we would have performed no correction at all on the lists of Genevois, *et al.*, and directly correlated the results from Table 9 with the stocks in Table 10, we would have found a similarly large explained variance of 98%. If, on the other hand, we had corrected with a factor of 1.33 (instead of 1.11), implying a medieval loss rate of – 25% per century for administrative documents as well, the

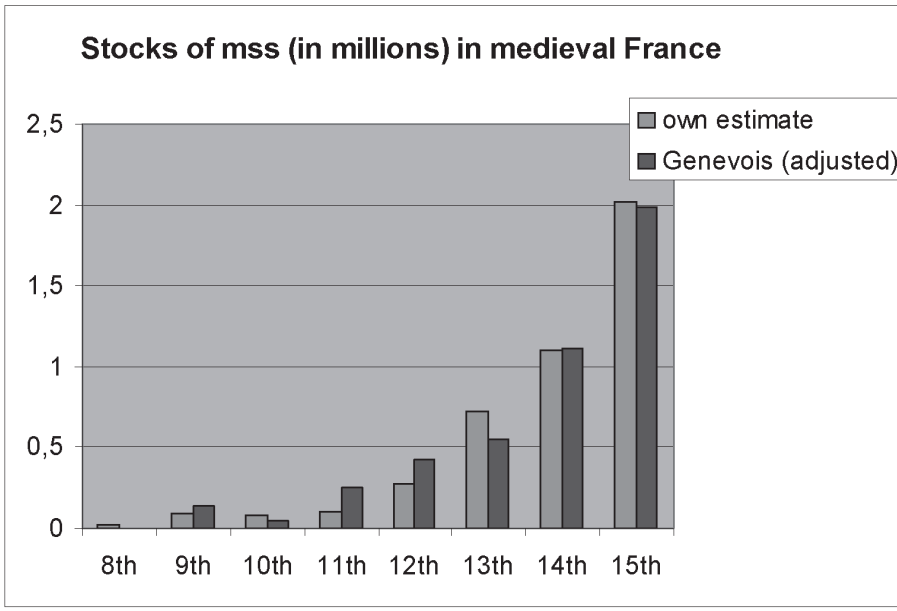


**Fig. 2** Stocks of manuscripts in medieval France in millions of manuscripts (source: GENEVOIS *et al., Bibliothèques de manuscrits médiévaux en France*).

explained variance would still have been a quite considerable 92%. These calculations indicate that the found results are probably quite robust.

Because we only use the relative values of Genevois *et al.* we can multiply them all with some constant value without influencing the correlation between our French stocks and the medieval lists. In order to obtain Fig. 2 we have multiplied the corrected values of Genevois *et al.* (Table 10) with an arbitrary factor of 59 (leading to an overall equal average for our stocks and the adjusted figures of Genevois *et al.*) and afterwards presented them graphically in combination with our stocks (calculated from the previously presented production rates).

Fig. 2 reveals that a completely independent estimate based on contemporary, medieval sources substantiates the general picture of our estimates of medieval production rates of manuscripts in France. For individual centuries, however, the found match may be lower, as can be seen for the eleventh century.

For individual centuries, as for instance the eleventh century, we can observe a considerable difference between both estimates, in this case amounting

to a factor of around two. We should be cautious however, not to use the results from Tables 9 or 10 as an alternative for our earlier production estimates, as we have indicated previously that the actual numbers for the early Middle Ages in the sets of inventories collected by Genevois *et al.* are based on such a limited number (less than 30 for the eleventh century and even considerably less for the inventories from before that date) that by virtue of their haphazard character they are highly variable. A zero-order uncertainty analysis based on scant data (fourteenth-century Fécamp) to estimate a standard deviation in the results of Genevois *et al.* would have lead to a 95% confidence interval of ±89% around the adjusted Genevois figures for the eleventh century, which indicates (although only comprising half our estimates) that essentially the adjusted Genevois figures, statistically speaking, do not appear to differ much from our own estimates.

Our conclusion from the general comparison of the patterns of French stocks of manuscripts estimated with the database and those from an independent documentary source is, that our database estimates have been corroborated by the high explained variance with a historical source. As the other (unreported) comparisons and checks were also favourable, we can now proceed to analyse the influence of various other forces on the medieval production rates of manuscripts.

## *Regressions to Identify the Variables Influencing Manuscript Production*

Quite often in economic history regressions are performed with the logarithms of the various variables, and this specific exercise has been reported elsewhere.[78] Their results are, incidentally, quite similar to the regressions presented here on the basis of the numerical values as such. We thought it more relevant to present these last results because it is somewhat easier to understand and interpret their numerical outcomes. A second reason for opting for the numerical values instead of their logarithms is that our variables include such values as 'zero manuscript production' and 'zero monasteries' in an area, which historically characterise a certain level of local development and therefore should not be neglected statistically only because we cannot calculate a logarithm of zero.

[78] BURINGH, *Medieval Manuscript Production*.

**Table 11** Multiple linear regression on absolute production of manuscripts in Latin West

| Period | *6 – 15* | *6 - 15* | *6 – 15* | *6 - 10* | *11 – 15* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Constant | 13155 | 14061 | 1643 | 163 | 27423 |
| Stdev | 10333 | 10555 | 14512 | 1765 | 23249 |
| Monasteries | **21.8** | **23.2** | 4.4 | **20.9** | 20.3 |
| Stdev | 8.5 | 8.6 | 11.7 | 4.6 | 12.6 |
| Universities | **55310** | **55807** | - | - | **55574** |
| Stdev | 5353 | 5352 | | | 8054 |
| Urban population | -28 | -40 | **707** | 26 | -46 |
| Stdev | 94 | 94 | 87 | 34 | 143 |
| Iberia (dummy) | - | -39227 | - | - | - |
| Stdev | | 29664 | | | |
| $R^2$ | 0.83 | 0.84 | 0.66 | 0.52 | 0.80 |
| N'' = | 106 | 105 | 107 | 51 | 51 |

In Table 11 the explanatory variables that are statistically significant have been indicated in bold face, which means that an explanatory model should ideally only be constructed with such variables. In Table 11 we used for the (k) different areas and (i) centuries the absolute manuscript production rates, the absolute numbers of monasteries and universities and the absolute population in 1000s of inhabitants for cities of 10,000 and over.

We will begin our explanations with the first column of Table 11, in which the whole period of the sixth to fifteenth centuries was analysed. This first model had an explained variance of 83% ($R^2$=0.83), which is quite high for such a simple model covering the whole of the Latin West over an entire millennium, for such an uncertain result as the estimated medieval manuscript production. This amount of explained variance implies that 83% of the variation in the numbers of manuscripts occurring over the areas and centuries can be explained by a simple combination of local monasteries and universities. It also implies that on average every monastery produced some 22 manuscripts per century (21.8), with a standard deviation of 8.5 manuscripts, leading to a 95% confidence interval for the manuscript production per monastery of somewhere between 5.1 to 38.5 manuscripts per century.

The average university contributed more than 55,000 manuscripts per century (55,310), with a relatively low standard deviation of 5353 (95% ci: 44,800-65,800 manuscripts per century). The urban population in towns of 10,000 inhabitants did not really contribute in this model (standard deviation is larger than the regression coefficient); the estimated influence, if any, of the urban population is even negative.

When we include a dummy variable (second model and second column of Table 11) for the Iberian Peninsula, because the urban population there differed quite considerably between the Christian parts (low) and the Muslim parts (high) (see Table 2), nothing much happens. The dummy of the Iberian Peninsula is not significant and the values of our previous regression coefficients do not change markedly.

Excluding the universities from our first model (third column of Table 11) leads to a considerably lower explained variance of 66%, and at the same time makes the contribution of the monasteries insignificant as well. The only statistically relevant variable now is urbanisation, with a positive sign, which essentially means that the book production first associated with monasteries and universities has been taken over by a more general indicator, the urban population in cities over 10,000 inhabitants. The statistically significant regression coefficient with a value of 707 in the third column implies that for every 1000 extra inhabitants in an urban area, we estimate a manuscript production of a little over 700 books per century. As soon as we include more specific indicators such as monasteries and universities in the model (first two columns) we see that these overwhelm the general urbanisation indicator. Moreover, the fact that the explained variance has become lower indicates that this should not be the preferred model.

In the fourth and fifth columns, the full period from our first model has been split into two and we analysed the first half covering the sixth to tenth centuries separately from that of the second, which covers the period of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries. We now see that in the first half of our observation period monasteries alone dominate the local production of manuscripts in the Latin West (we excluded Salerno, the sole medical school active in the ninth and tenth centuries, from our analysis). The amount of explained variance (52%) has become somewhat lower than that of the full period, but it is still an impressive fraction that is explained. On average, in this first period a monastery produces 21 manuscripts per century.

For the second half of the period (eleventh to fifteenth centuries in the last column of Table 11) we find a high explained variance of 80%. The monastic production of manuscripts has now become insignificant, while the average university contributes more than 55,000 manuscripts per century to the production of medieval manuscripts in the Latin West. Together these two variables explain 80% of all variance in the production levels of manuscripts in these centuries in the Latin West. In this model we can also see a slight negative influence of the variable urban population in cities of 10,000 inhabitants, but it is not statistically significant.

We can now also examine how this value of 20 manuscripts per century per monastery (last column of Table 11) (with a 95% ci: 0-45 books) compares with our estimate of uses of manuscripts only based on the medieval demand.[79] For the years of comparison, we use the numbers of manuscripts written for the clergy in the Latin West for a similar period of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries. There we found the estimate that 1,704,000 books were copied in a total of 102,444 'monastery centuries' (i.e. the sum total of the number of centuries individual monasteries existed) in the Latin West, which implies an average production of 17 manuscripts per monastery per century. Both estimated values, based on totally different analyses, match nicely.

We might see a contradiction in the fact that Table 11 seems to indicate that universities were the most important factor for the manuscript production in the Latin West in the second half of our period (for the eleventh to fifteenth centuries the universities were significant and the urban population was not), while an (unreported) analysis with the logarithms of the variables or with per capita data indicates that urbanisation is the most important factor in this period, as urbanisation was significant while the universities were not. However, we do not think that this really represents a contradiction, as these results are based on different angles of viewing the evidence. With a relative, per capita, analysis we have analysed the situation in which smaller countries have a weight similar to the larger countries. In Table 3 we see that smaller areas with few universities, such as Belgium and the Netherlands, could produce quite a large number of manuscripts in the fifteenth century with only one university between them, while they had relatively high levels of urbanisation; therefore in these two smaller areas it is essentially their local urban production that led to the high rates of book manufacture. In Table 11 we analysed the absolute production rates of manuscripts, and now the larger areas predominate. In these

[79] Reported elsewhere; see BURINGH, *Medieval Manuscript Production*.

larger areas the numbers of local universities and those of the urban inhabitants in towns over 10,000 inhabitants have a high correlation ($R^2$= 0.87 for all areas) in the fifteenth century, indicating that a factor closely associated with urbanisation may be easily taken over by one that stands for the numbers of universities. Therefore we should not see a contradiction in these regression results, but rather assume that the factors of urbanisation and universities, both taken apart and together, represent a medieval urban complex that led to a high local demand (and production) of manuscripts.

A stepwise inclusion of more recent centuries into the regression model allows us to explore how this influences the values of the regression coefficients over time. In a basic model including monasteries, urban population and universities, only universities and monasteries constituted statistically significant variables. When we start with the period of the sixth to twelfth centuries we find a value of 7000 books per university (thus insignificant with a standard deviation of 6000) and in this early period only the monastic contribution is statistically significant. Adding the thirteenth century to the model increases the value of the coefficient of the universities to a statistically significant 18,000 (stand dev 6000) books per university. This becomes 42,000 books per university (stand dev 4000) by adding the fourteenth century to the model, and in the final model, including the fifteenth century, we arrive at a value of 55,000 books per university. For the monasteries in this analysis we can see similar trends in the values of their regression coefficients. In the period of the sixth to twelfth centuries we find a value of 22 books per monastery, which rises to 36 by including the next century in the model. Thereafter, by including the fourteenth century a value of 33 is derived, and when the fifteenth century is included the value is reduced to 22 books per monastery. We think that this stepwise addition of new centuries to our model shows that even though the later centuries may overwhelm the results, they do so in a logical and understandable way.

The final model describing area-average manuscript production (W) in the Latin West in area (k) during century (i) and describing the full period is:

$$\mathbf{W}_{i,k} = 10{,}800 + 20.1 * \text{monasteries}_{i,k} + 54{,}100 * \text{universities}_{i,k}$$

In the above expression 'monasteries$_{i,k}$' stands for the numbers of monasteries in that century and area, and 'universities$_{i,k}$' ditto for the numbers of universities. This model has an explained variance of 83%.

The models separately describing the area-average manuscript production in the first and second period would be different; as we can see from Table 11, they are somewhat simpler because less variables are significant, and they also have a slightly lower explained variance (51% and 79%, respectively) for each of the periods:

6th-10th c.: $\mathbf{W}_{i,k} = 48 + 23.4 * \text{monasteries}_{i,k}$

11th-15th c.: $\mathbf{W}_{i,k} = 45{,}800 + 59{,}000 * \text{universities}_{i,k}$

An important conclusion from the regressions is, that during the first half of the Middle Ages monasteries were the main factor behind the expansion of book production; while from the eleventh to fifteenth centuries onwards the contribution of monasteries becomes smaller (which is also clear from the fact that the number of monasteries ceases to grow, whereas book production continues to expand), and urban institutions such as universities take over the role as the main engines of the process of manuscript production in the Latin West.

## *Manuscripts as an Indicator of Medieval Output*

To obtain what little economic data available for this later medieval period we have used the data in an article by Robert C. Allen that presents information on average agrarian output in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in a number of areas of the Latin West.[80] His data from Table A1 of the index of agrarian output has been recalculated on a per capita basis for his agrarian population, and is contrasted to the per capita (of his total population) production of manuscripts in a slightly earlier period and a similar area to what has been assessed from the database in Table 7. Allen's agrarian output data for the two succeeding dates of 1400 and 1500 show a high level of similarity, as their explained variance was 90%, not surprisingly indicating that the average agrarian output of an area had a high continuity over a period of a hundred years. Therefore, we probably do not stretch our data too far in comparing Allen's economic data of 1400 with our manuscript production in the fourteenth century.

[80] R.C. ALLEN, "Progress and poverty in early modern Europe", *Economic History Review* 56 (2003), pp. 403-443, Table A1 at pp. 436-437.

**Table 12** Index of agrarian output per capita (Source: R.C. ALLEN[81]) and manuscripts per capita in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Tables 7 and 2).

| | 14th database mss / 10,000 cap | 1400 Allen Index agrarian output / cap | 15th database mss / 10,000 cap | 1500 Allen index agrarian output / cap |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ctreur | | | | |
| Boh | | | | |
| Brit | 3.7 | 0.50 | 3.9 | 0.50 |
| Fran | 5.6 | 0.41 | 7.4 | 0.45 |
| Belg | 27.8 | 0.79 | 45.8 | 0.75 |
| Neth | | | 17.2 | 0.58 |
| Germ | 4.4 | 0.46 | 5.3 | 0.40 |
| Switz | | | | |
| Austr | | | | |
| Italy | 11.5 | 0.48 | 13.4 | 0.43 |
| Iberia | 4.3 | 0.55 | 4.4 | 0.48 |

The explained variance between the agrarian output per capita from Allen's data in 1400 and manuscripts per capita in the fourteenth century was 78%, rising to 81% for the data of 1500 and the per capita manuscript production in the fifteenth century.[82] This indicates that for the few countries for which we have some contemporary data, there seems to be a strong association between economic development measured by an index of agrarian output and the production rates per capita of manuscripts.

The argument of induction permits us to say that, if we find a correlation between manuscript production and economic output during two centuries, we can assume that we would have found also a similar relationship for the centuries not included in the comparison. Fortunately we do not have to rely solely on the philosophical argument of induction, as we can also point to the previous correlation between an indirect economic indicator such as the urbanisation ratios and manuscript production in the Latin West. For the whole period the explained variance was 59% between urban population and manuscript production. Had we only looked at a similar period, as above (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), we would have found an explained variance of 76%. The magnitude of the explained variance for the later medieval period (and including all

[81] ALLEN, "Progress and poverty", *ibid.*

[82] Especially for Italy we are not completely happy with the use of the agrarian output data in Table 7.1 as a proxy for the area-average economic output, as the commercial sector was already well-developed at this time in Italy and their contribution is not included in Table 7.1.

eleven areas of the Latin West) is quite similar to the one we just observed for an economic output indicator as agrarian production.[83]

All of the above comparisons with the sparse hard economic data are positive and indicate that we may conclude that, at least for the later medieval period, our manuscript production rates can be seen as a medieval output indicator.

For the earlier medieval period we would like to quote a remark made on the relationship between manuscripts and wealth in this early period, for which more specific economic data are further generally lacking. Concerning the totality of Carolingian manuscripts, Rosamond McKitterick wrote:

> Such an investment of wealth cannot be ignored. Book ownership as much as land ownership was a mark of social status and means. As part of the trade in luxury items (which many would have regarded as necessities), the book trade deserves to be recognised as a crucial indication of what men and women were prepared to spend their money on. Furthermore, the books surviving from the Carolingian period are a clear and rarely fully appreciated index of Carolingian prosperity. No historian can afford to ignore the evidence of the books produced and owned when assessing the level and the range of economic activity under the Carolingian rulers. It was an economy in which the cultivation of literacy and learning played a fundamental part.[84]

The opinion of Rosamond McKitterick is clearly that Carolingian manuscripts and contemporary economic development can be seen as two sides of the same coin. This is a historical corroboration of the relationship found above between economic output indicators at the end of the medieval period and the existence of a similar relationship half a millennium prior.

From the end of the twelfth century onwards, Richard and Mary Rouse indicate that the major reasons that Paris became a fertile ground for a growing commercial book trade were its size and wealth.[85] The authors substantiate this with the size of the population of Paris, which in the thirteenth century was by far the largest city in the Latin West, and the fact that it was a royal city with

[83] If we looked at completely similar areas and periods as *supra* in Table 7.1 we would have found an explained variance of 95% for the fourteenth century and 76% for the fifteenth century between urbanisation and manuscript production.

[84] R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 163-164.

[85] R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500*, 2 vols. (London, 2000), 1, p. 17.

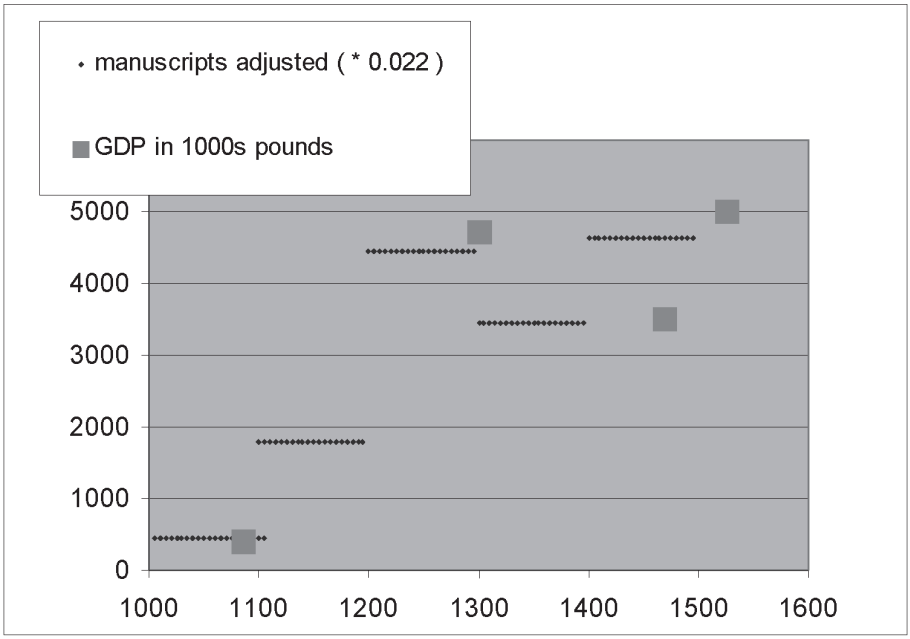


**Fig. 3** Medieval GDP in thousands of pounds (source: N. MAYHEW)[86] and adjusted manuscript production (* 0.022) per century in the British Isles during the eleventh to fifteenth centuries.

its courts and administration, attracting scores of high-ranking officials and prelates on business. The third important element for the growth of Paris was its university. Concerning Paris, both authors write that at some indefinable point in the twelfth century it had become the city *par excellence*. At the end of the twelfth century Paris continued to develop at a surprising pace, though not yet reaching the apex of its growth in population, wealth, and power that occurred in the next century. Similarly, the city's book trade, which had started well before the end of the twelfth century, would rapidly increase in size, structure, and proficiency in the thirteenth.[87] The example of Paris also provides an indication of the connection between wealth and manuscripts in the high Middle Ages.

[86] N. MAYHEW, *The Wealth of Medieval England*. To be found at http://lamop.univ-paris1.fr/W3/richesses/NickMayhew.pdf (accessed 20-08-2008).

[87] ROUSE and ROUSE, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, 1, p. 19.

For the period of 1000 to 1500 we have found some data on the total annual income or Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for the British Isles, which have been published by Nick Mayhew.[88] He estimated the medieval GDP of England to have been 0.4 million pounds in 1086, 4.7 million in 1300, 3.5 million in 1470, rising to some 5 million pounds in 1526. In Fig. 3 we have joined this GDP data from Nick Mayhew with the adjusted estimates of the medieval manuscript production on the British Isles; for this figure we divided the manuscript production rates per century by 45 (such an adjustment with an equal fraction does not influence the correlation between both sets of data and allows for an easier visual comparison).

Though the correlation is not perfect, there certainly seems to be a substantial relationship between our manuscript production rates and the medieval GDP in the British Isles, which is an extra argument for considering the production rates of medieval manuscripts in areas of the Latin West as an indicator of local contemporary output.

### *Manuscripts as Other Indicators*

Though the bulk of medieval manuscripts in the Latin West were religious in their content and in their function, in the Middle Ages manuscripts were also used to convey information of a more prosaic and practical nature. For instance there were medical books for doctors and legal works for notaries and lawyers, as well as books on arithmetic and grammar, to name just a few subjects. Therefore we can also see numbers of manuscripts per capita as an indicator of their uses in general, and more particularly as an indicator of the rates of literacy in a society. Literacy itself was an important factor in later medieval commerce, not only because agreements could now be put in the form of a contract, thereby becoming unambiguous, but also because a wider use of writing for legal purposes gradually decreased the transaction costs of commerce, which in itself fostered economic growth. In an article charting the 'rise of the West', we used the production and accumulation of manuscripts and printed books as a proxy for the production and accumulation of ideas, which is an important variable in Kremer's growth theory.[89] Therefore we think relative numbers of

[88] MAYHEW, *The Wealth of Medieval England*.

[89] BURINGH and VAN ZANDEN, "Charting the 'rise of the West'"; M. KREMER, "Population growth and technological change: One million B.C. to 1990", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*

manuscripts can be seen as indicators of much more than simply medieval output.

## *Discussion*

We have checked many aspects of the database, loss rates and estimated production figures against the quantitative material on hand; nevertheless, the estimated production rates at the end of the medieval period may be deemed quite high (especially for Belgium and the Netherlands in the fifteenth century) or quite low (Netherlands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) in certain instances. A reason for such possibly anomalous estimates may be that the loss rates with which we calculated the production rates were presumed uniform across Europe. Especially with regard to smaller areas, anomalous or freak results (statistically speaking) are more likely to arise, as the local circumstances in these areas could more easily have differed from the overall average situation. For the Netherlands it may have been possible that local losses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were higher than average and that using European average figures for the local loss rates therefore underestimates production. Unfortunately we could calculate only a few loss rates from just one monastery in the Netherlands – which seem to be somewhat higher than the contemporary English loss rates in Table 6 – but not different enough to conclude that special treatment is necessary. For fifteenth-century Belgium, perhaps the Books of Hours frequently produced there and exported have had a somewhat lower loss rate than that of other, plainer and more general texts; and therefore using European average values for the fifteenth century loss rates may have overestimated the Belgian manuscript production to a certain extent. The explanations are still completely speculative and likely warrant further research into these matters. Nor should we forget that for the fifteenth-century production rates, the 95% confidence intervals around our estimates per area are still some 60% of the estimated values, indicating that the different numbers should not be taken at face value and can easily be quite different. In general, the confidence intervals for earlier centuries are greater still.

For a city such as Paris we fortunately have somewhat more specific information concerning local manuscript production, and we will now look in more detail to determine if the found estimates for Parisian manuscript production

can be substantiated in any way. In *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris*, Richard and Mary Rouse write about the occurrence of lay scribes in Paris in the twelfth century. They present a passage from the *Liber ordinis* of St. Victor (*c*. 1139), which indicates that the office of the *armarius* should provide the scribes with parchment and anything else necessary for their writing, and is also responsible for hiring those who write for pay. This passage is significant for two reasons: first, it tells us that there were scribes for hire before the middle of the twelfth century in Paris, and secondly that the abbey of St. Victor hired them.[90] Such an early mention of lay scribes in France is important, as it shows that a second channel of book production had begun to become active, apart from the already existing monastic manufacture of books.

In the twelfth century in France we find a yearly book production of some 217 books per million inhabitants; in absolute terms for France this means that nearly 2000 manuscripts were being produced yearly. In twelfth-century France we also find most new monastic foundations per million inhabitants; in an absolute sense nearly 3600 new monasteries were founded in this century alone (with 3200 new foundations in France in the previous century). Such high rates of new foundations generally led to high rates of manuscript production soon afterwards, as all the empty monastic libraries had to be filled with the books necessary for the monks' study.

In the database those manuscripts that have been auctioned by Sotheby's can be selected separately. Auction houses tend to do research on manuscripts offered for sale, as a well-described manuscript generally fetches a higher price. Nineteen manuscripts written in France in the twelfth century and currently in the database have been auctioned at Sotheby's. Only three of these nineteen manuscripts, or a fraction of 16%, were attributed to Paris.[91] With this fraction we can estimate how many of the total yearly production of 2000 manuscripts from twelfth-century France can be attributed to Paris. We find a

[90] ROUSE and ROUSE, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, 1, p. 24.

[91] Because of the possible economic benefit for an auction house involved in localising a manuscript to a well-known place of production, we should see the figures for Paris, and those presented later for other places, as a higher limit, and keep in mind that local production rates might have been somewhat lower. A sample of only 19 manuscripts leads to a substantial standard deviation around the fraction found: 16% $\pm$ 9%. One of the three manuscripts in our sample is indicated as being 'probably' of a Parisian origin. If we had excluded this as a Parisian book, the fraction would have become 11%, thereby leading to a lower yearly production of some 210 manuscripts in Paris in the twelfth century.

Parisian production of some 310 manuscripts per year. For a twelfth-century city with some 88,000 inhabitants this means a quite staggering yearly Parisian production rate of some 3500 manuscripts per million inhabitants. These figures show that local manuscript production in the capital city of Paris was more than fifteen times higher than the average for France as a whole.

The question is, can we substantiate a yearly production of some 310 manuscripts in twelfth-century Paris? In the register of the Rouses on the Parisian book trade, twelfth-century names are unfortunately absent, so it would be difficult to make an educated guess as to the size of the lay contribution to book production at the time.

We will attempt, however, to make a rather conservative estimate of the institutional demand for manuscripts in twelfth-century Paris by monasteries and parish churches, and the private demand by lay people or ecclesiastics. We can make a rough estimate of the monastic demand, as Dom Cottineau describes the existence of some 50 monasteries in medieval Paris.[92] Assuming a conservative average yearly demand of 0.3 manuscripts (a basic production level established for the eleventh century) we would come to a monastic demand of some fifteen manuscripts per year in Paris. A quite similar number of some ten manuscripts per year would be necessary to supply the demand from all the parish churches in Paris in this century. If we assume on average some 100 students per year coming to the proto-university or to one of the three important theological schools in Paris (rising from, say, 50 at the start of the century to 150 at the end), and assuming that every student needed a few manuscripts during the course of his study, this contributes to a demand of some 200 manuscripts per year. To estimate the private use of manuscripts by the population of Paris we used the same values as with the demand-side estimate in the twelfth century in the Latin West; we then come to a local private demand of some 35 manuscripts per year. Summing our demand estimates, we come to a rather conservative yearly demand of nearly 260 manuscripts in twelfth-century Paris.

For the private use of manuscripts in Paris our estimates above are most likely too low, as we must remember that twelfth-century Paris was a thriving capital city with a royal court, where dignitaries of the Church and the state would gather. Therefore the assumed literacy rate for the Latin West as a whole of a mere 3% of the urban population, and the number of 1.2 manuscripts per literate person with which we have calculated the private demand,

[92] COTTINEAU, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*.

will quite probably be too low in the case of Paris. In the inventories of medieval libraries in France by Anne-Marie Genevois and her associates from the CNRS, we can find 29 records of twelfth-century private libraries or donations, of which sixteen present concrete numbers of manuscripts.[93] The average size of a twelfth-century French donation or private library, owned by people from the higher strata of society (varying from an archbishop to a magister), was 38 manuscripts, individually ranging between one and 140 manuscripts. Therefore we think that a more realistic estimate of the private demand in twelfth-century Paris would have supplemented our conservative estimate enough to cover a total yearly demand of some 310 manuscripts. Our conclusion would be that the available historical information for Paris seems to present a plausible explanation of the levels of manuscript production that we estimated for this century, and by implication that we can draw the same conclusion for France.

### *Paris in the Thirteenth Century*

The spread of literacy in the countryside was slower than in towns, and only a small number of villagers could read and write. Nevertheless, throughout the thirteenth century rural schools became established further away from abbeys and monasteries, so that finally even in regions having only a minor involvement in commerce, some written culture was beginning to spread.[94]

The first documented information which can be found in France concerning commercial writers outside the monasteries dates from the thirteenth century. Richard and Mary Rouse, in their study of the commercial book producers in medieval Paris, indicate that they selected the year 1200 as the approximate early limit, because there is no dependable documentary evidence of the personnel in the twelfth-century trade or the way it was organised, though a rudimentary commercial book trade clearly existed before this date in Paris.[95]

The birth of the *pecia*-system was an important development in thirteenth-century France for the production of manuscripts. In this system a manuscript was no longer copied as a whole, but was instead divided into loose quires. These were hired and copied one after another. With this system 'one' manu-

[93] GENEVOIS *et al.*, *Bibliothèques de manuscrits médiévaux en France*.

[94] G. SIVERY, "Rural society (social change in the thirteenth century)", in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, 4, c. *1024*-c. *1198*, ed. D. LUSCOMBE and J. RILEY-SMITH, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2004), 1, pp. 38-49, at p. 41.

[95] ROUSE and ROUSE, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, 1, p. 11.

script could be copied a number of times at once. The *pecia*-system was developed at the universities; it considerably sped up manuscript production. Books were an important commodity in thirteenth-century Paris, as only a university town could support a guild solely devoted to making book clasps.[96]

In the database those manuscripts that have been auctioned can be selected separately. Sotheby's had auctioned 70 manuscripts copied in France in the thirteenth century and currently in the database. Of these, 21 manuscripts, or a fraction of 30%, were attributed to Paris.[97] By using this fraction we can estimate how many of the total of 510,000 manuscripts from thirteenth-century France can be attributed to Paris. This estimate comes to a Parisian production of some 150,000 manuscripts in the thirteenth century, or some 1500 books per year. Thus for a city with some 180,000 inhabitants, this means a yearly production rate of 8300 manuscript books per million inhabitants. We can now see that the local per capita production in Paris was considerably higher than the nearly 400 books per million inhabitants for France as a whole, just as we have seen for the twelfth century.

We will approach the estimated thirteenth-century yearly production rate of some 1500 books in Paris from two sides: that of production and that of demand. To estimate the production side we used the register that was compiled by Richard and Mary Rouse, which covers some 1400 names of persons involved in the commercial Parisian book trade in the Middle Ages.[98] Of these named persons, some 300 belonged to the thirteenth century (found by sampling one in every ten pages and counting). We will consider these persons to be indicators of medieval scribal activity, just as we used the scribes in Petrucci's census for Table 7. As the active economic life of natural medieval persons can be estimated at approximately 33 years, we have to divide the number of 300 names with a factor of three to find the number of 'person centuries' that were operational during the whole of the thirteenth century in Paris.[99] The

[96] S.A. EPSTEIN, "Urban society", in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History* 4, 1, pp. 26-37, at p. 31.

[97] A sample of 70 manuscripts leads to a standard deviation of 6% around the fraction found: 30% $\pm$ 6%. Two of these 21 manuscripts had been attributed to Paris, because the quality of their script or illumination strongly suggested or presumed a Parisian origin. If these two had been excluded, the fraction would have been 27%, and the Parisian yearly production some 1400 manuscripts.

[98] ROUSE and ROUSE, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, pp. 11-142.

[99] In all calculations per century we implicitly assume an average age of 100 years, which cannot be true for natural persons. Based on the English 'inquisition *post-mortem*' records, Minka A. Jonker estimated the life expectancy of the higher ranks of adult males in English

obtained number of 'person centuries' should on the other hand be multiplied again by some factor, because in all likelihood a multiple of these named persons would have actually been involved in the commercial book trade so long ago without their proper names being passed down to us. Assuming for this century a factor of four as a multiplication, and also assuming an average production of a few manuscripts per person, we can then attribute a production of some 1200 manuscripts per year to the commercial Parisian book trade in the thirteenth century. If we further assume that Parisian ecclesiastical circles that were not directly involved in the commercial book trade would certainly have copied manuscripts as well, and that books would have also been copied by people for their own use (for instance, by students lacking the money to pay a scribe or to buy books), we can conclude that a yearly production level of some 1400 to 1500 books may be feasible for the thirteenth century in Paris.

We will approach the Parisian demand side in the same manner as we have previously done for the twelfth century. We can estimate the demand of parishes to be some 20 manuscripts per year in the thirteenth century in Paris. If we assume some 400 students per year coming to Paris in this century, and also assume that a student needed some two to three books to complete his study in Paris, this would have created a demand of some 1000 books per year. The Parisian private demand of books would have been some 100 books per year (based on a literacy rate of 5% of the urban population and an average possession of 1.5 manuscripts per literate person). The resulting estimated Parisian

society. She found that an average male between the years 1303 and 1325, once he had reached the age of 25 years, had a further life expectancy of 25.7 years (95% confidence interval: 20.3 – 29.4 years). This estimated life expectancy is that from the period before the Black Death. Jonker's figures indicate that once the difficult childhood years were overcome, an average age of 50 would be quite probable. For our calculation we therefore assume an economically active life of 33 years. (This average age of 50 after childhood, however, does not preclude the life expectancy at birth to be only 30 years, as was reported for English males from 1276 to 1300. The explanation for this apparent contradiction is quite simple. The difference in years lived is caused by the fact that before their tenth birthday half of the children would have died. This leads to a low general life expectancy for all newborns, but once they had survived a rather deadly childhood, on average people lived to some 50 years of age. Currently such a pattern can still be found in underdeveloped countries, if we assume the most negative demographic scenario with no health services at all and widespread poverty amongst the population. For our calculations we should not include the numbers of children below ten years of age, because they would not yet belong to either the clergy or the literate urban inhabitants. Therefore in our calculations this low average life expectancy at birth does not concern us, and we have to use the average life expectancy after childhood.) See M. JONKER, "Estimation of life expectancy in the Middle Ages", *Journal Royal Statistical Society A* 166 (2003), pp. 105-117.

demand of nearly 1200 books per year is likely an underestimate, just as we previously indicated for the twelfth century.

In the thirteenth century as well, Paris was a thriving capital city with a royal court and a home to dignitaries of the Church and the state. In the inventories of medieval libraries in France we can find 64 records of thirteenth-century private libraries or donations, of which 32 present concrete numbers of manuscripts.[100] The average size of a thirteenth-century French private library or donation by someone belonging to the higher strata of society was some 25 manuscripts, and the average size for those pertaining to Paris was an even larger number of 51 books. This difference in average library size between Paris and the rest of France could be called a 'capital effect', and this has of course not been incorporated in the general values of the demand side. Therefore we think that a more realistic estimate of the private demand in thirteenth-century Paris with the 'capital effect' included would have supplemented our demand estimate enough to cover a total yearly demand of some 1500 manuscripts. For both production and demand in thirteenth-century Paris, we think to have made plausible that the estimated numbers, though high, might not be impossible. Our conclusion from this discussion would be, that the available historical information for Paris seems to present a plausible explanation of the levels of manuscript production that we estimated for this century – and this applies to France generally as well.

## *Conclusions*

Numbers of locally produced manuscripts can be seen as an area-average indicator of medieval output. For the whole period of 500 to 1500 there is a substantial amount of explained variance (over 60%) between a demographic indicator (urbanisation ratios, the fraction of the population living in cities of 10,000 or more inhabitants) as a proxy for economic development, and the local manuscript production rates per century in the Latin West. For the final centuries of the Middle Ages we can find a considerable amount of explained variance between local agrarian output per capita and contemporary local manuscript production rates per capita (some 80%). However, other quantitative medieval output indicators for the entire period with which to compare our results are generally lacking.

[100] GENEVOIS *et al.*, *Bibliothèques de manuscrits médiévaux en France*.

The abundant quantitative data that we collected and sometimes specifically constructed for this project (e.g. numbers of monasteries in the Latin West) allowed us to analyse and characterise the influence of various driving factors on the manuscript production over time with multiple linear regressions. For the first half of the medieval millennium, the number of monasteries seems to have driven the output of manuscripts in the Latin West. In the Middle Ages, monasteries were also large landowners, and a certain fraction of their surplus production was transformed into manuscripts. Though Christianisation was important in initiating manuscript production in Europe outside the former Roman Empire, Church organisation (numbers of dioceses) was less relevant in explaining the rise in manuscript production than numbers of monasteries.[101] The increase in the numbers of dioceses was approximately by a factor of two or less, the numbers of monasteries roughly by a factor of twenty, and manuscript production by a factor of 300 to 400 over time. A model of the demand side, which was developed independently of the estimates of the production rates, leads to an average production of some seventeen manuscripts per monastery for the latter half of the examined period, while regressions with the database estimates point to an average production of twenty manuscripts per monastery per century. Such a close match may bolster our confidence in the method followed with the database to estimate medieval production rates generally.

In the second half of the period, lay production – especially that of universities and urban centres – seems to have driven manuscript production in the Latin West. At the end of the medieval period, prices of manuscripts gradually decreased somewhat because of the more abundant use of cheaper paper instead of parchment, and because of the use of cursive scripts that allowed scribes to produce more. Next to higher rates of literacy, this drop in prices naturally enhanced the demand for manuscripts in this period as well. Nevertheless, the high amount of scribal time involved in their production caused medieval manuscripts to remain luxury products. For a couple of areas, and for Belgium in particular, the export of manuscripts was important at the end of the Middle Ages. Manuscripts for local English use ('Sarum') were produced in Belgium, where, for instance in fifteenth-century Bruges, a non-negligible fraction of the population was producing luxury products for non-local markets.

[101] Not shown here; see Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production*.

All of the checks and validations we performed on the results obtained through our highly unorthodox method of determining production estimates from the database turned out favourable. This leads to the final question: how could such an approach work at all? The main reason is most likely that the undoubtedly large amount of random noise in the basic data has fortunately been more than compensated for by the much larger rise in production rates of manuscripts by a factor of 300 to 400 over a millennium. Despite the considerable uncertainties, this happy coincidence allows us to arrive at results that seem to make sense historically.

# Books and Booksellers in the Cities of the Crown of Aragon: The Example of Barcelona*

J. ANTONI IGLESIAS-FONSECA

We have information about books being sold and bought in the city of Barcelona by private persons since the tenth century. Many of the records merely refer to a book owner selling one or two items to someone else who wanted to acquire them, in a more or less informal and occasional manner, but there is also some material concerning professional booksellers. In 1300 King James II of Aragon granted some privileges to the university of Lleida, and among these privileges was the right to have a *stationarius* or bookseller. Nonetheless, for this period the surviving documentation is relatively scarce. From 1350 on, however, professional booksellers are fairly well documented in the notarial registers. And through them we know that these booksellers did not limit their activities to buying and selling books; they also supplied the scribes with necessary materials, such as parchment, paper or ink,

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*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 179-193.

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and were responsible for the bookbinding process. They can be considered as real organisers of the whole process of manufacturing the books, in addition to acting as a link between all the craftsmen involved in that process.

Many of these booksellers or *librarii* were Jews, or at least of Jewish origin, since during the pogroms of 1391 – which caused around 200 deaths among the Jewish community – many of them converted to the Christian faith in a more or less forced way. Some of them belonged to family companies, several of which were still active in the early years of printing, such as the families Corró, Sastre and Trinxer.

The richness of the National Archive of the Crown of Aragon, in the city of Barcelona, is thoroughly remarkable for the whole of the Middle Ages, but especially for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among many other materials they hold, very rich information can be found about dozens of these Jews and about Jews who converted to Christianity (*conversos*), in all manner of respects: their working conditions, their training, main and secondary economical activities, the precise location of their shops and workshops, their family and professional relations, etc. Our information comes mainly from notarial registers, but there are other sources as well, for instance annotations written in some preserved manuscripts proving that they were sold in a particular *statio*. Undoubtedly Jews and *conversos* monopolised the book trade during these centuries.

I am not going to comment on the importance of notarial registers in rebuilding a picture of how urban life must have been in the later Middle Ages. Anyone who has delved a little into late medieval history is aware of this. Nevertheless, I will take the liberty of emphasising what this documentation has to offer to all those researching the world of the book, especially in urban areas. In these registers, and as a complement to the information offered by the manuscripts themselves, we can find all sorts of information about the different crafts involved in book production, from the writing of the text to its transmission and its final preservation. When we read the notarial registers, we witness a whole world of authors, patrons, scribes (and, later, printers), miniaturists and illuminators, binders, and booksellers passing through, and we see them in cooperation or competition, and in the petty routines of their daily life.

This interaction is possible because the notaries themselves were deeply implicated in the processes of book production and book trade. They drafted the contracts that stipulated prices, quality and schedules for the copy of a new manuscript; they witnessed loans borrowed on the guaranty of an especially

valuable manuscript; they drafted the inventories of book owners after their death; they took the minutes of book auctions and book donations, etc. The notary is the protagonist of all these documents, but we also find a number of other persons involved, including scribes, miniaturists and binders. Some of them are Christians, others Jews, and sometimes they also come from other kingdoms: French and Italians were especially represented. Thanks to the notaries we know of many books and book collections dispersed by the winds of time.

I will go through some examples of the kind of documents we can expect to find in the Catalan notarial registries from the final centuries of the Middle Ages. To start with, the description of a codex was one of the exercises that candidates for notary had to pass in some of the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon. Thus they were rather familiar with the procedure. And undoubtedly this explains why many of the actual descriptions of manuscripts are so specific in the details they offer.

Some other notarial practices prevented to a certain extent the dispersion of the bibliographical heritage. For instance, notaries made inventories of the books of some book owners who stipulated in their wills that their libraries should be kept intact in their hereditary transmission and should not be divided. The notaries also guaranteed the return of books that had been leant to borrowers who had forgotten (perhaps not altogether unintentionally) to return them, but were ordered to do so in the deathbed wishes of the owners. In addition, the notaries documented the lending and borrowing of books both between private persons and between institutions; they also acted as depositaries of valuable books when they were deposited as a security for a loan.

It is thanks to this written control exerted by the notaries over many circulating books during the very convulsed years of what Johan Huizinga labelled the "Autumn of the Middle Ages", that many of them have been preserved until the present. And the notaries' detailed descriptions have allowed us, at times, to identify many of the items. This is especially interesting, as most of the transactions involving notaries took place between private persons, normally belonging to the middle classes of society, that are far more difficult to trace than those involving ecclesiastical institutions or the royal or noble houses.

For instance, in 1433 the inventory of a private book collection was made. The library in question belonged to Bernat d'Esplugues, who incidentally was the clerk of the Consell de la Ciutat or city council, as well as a notary in the

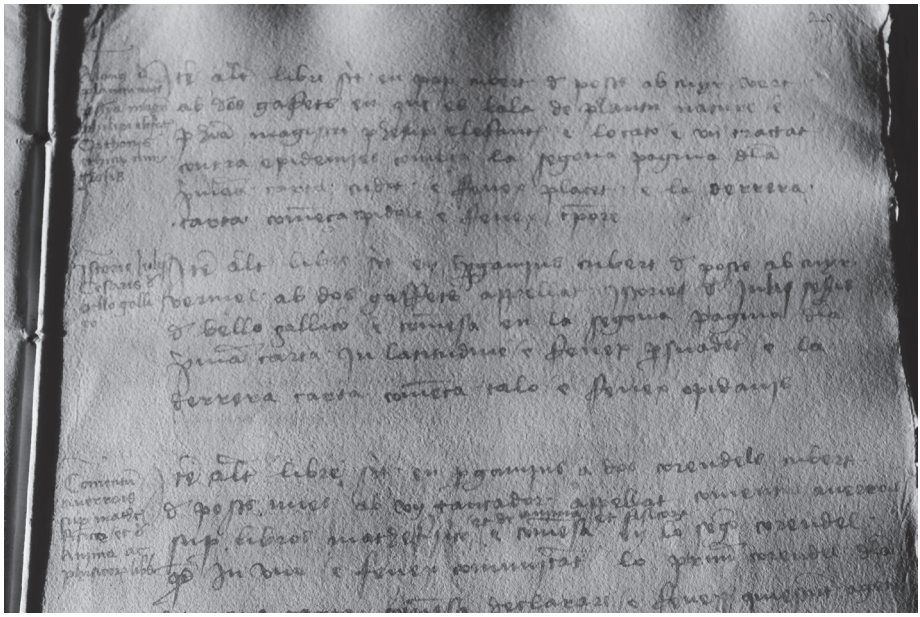

**Fig. 1** 1433. MS Barcelona, Chapter Archives, 969, *Inventarium bonorum ... Bernardi of Bernardi Speluncis, quondam, notari ...*, f. 20r.

same municipality, and whose notarial activity is thoroughly attested for the first half of the fifteenth century. His library was one of the most remarkable of his time. One of the items of the inventory is described as follows:

> *Item, altre libre scrit en paper, cubert de posts ab cuyr vert, ab dos gafets, en què és l'Alà, De plantu nature e Philosofia magistri Phelipi Elefantis e lo Cató e un Tractat contra epidèmies. Comensa la segona pàgina de la primera carta: "cudit".*
> *E fenex: "placet". E la derrera carta comença: "pidole" [sic]. E fenex: "tempore".*[1]

The language is Catalan vernacular, which was customary for all kinds of notarial deeds already by the end of the fourteenth century, and can be roughly translated into English as follows:

> Also another book, written in paper, bound with covers of green leather and two clasps, containing the *De plantu nature* and the *Filosofia magistri Phelippi Elefan-*

[1] MS Barcelona, Chapter Archives, 969, f. 1v (see Fig. 1).

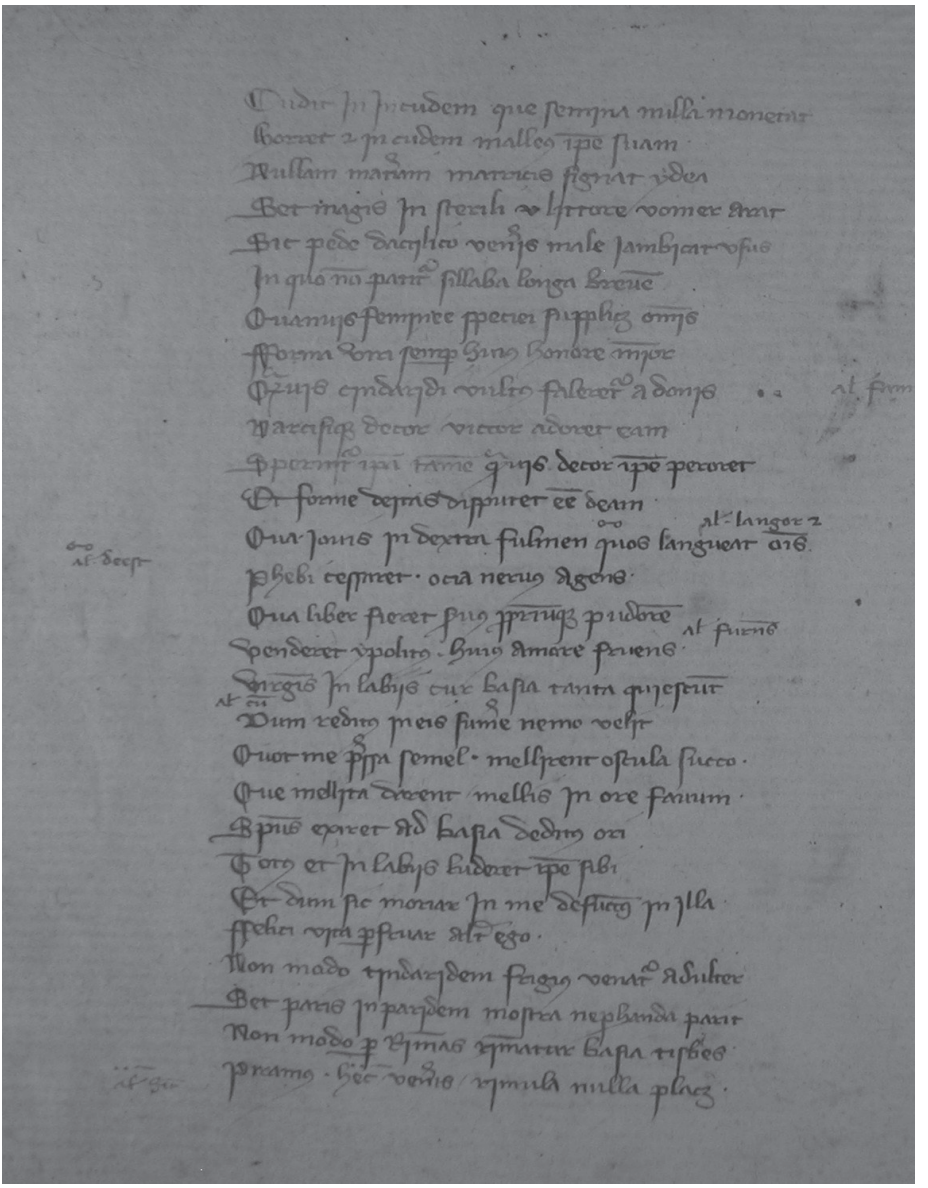

**Fig. 2** MS Barcelona, University Library, 591, miscellaneous codex, f. 1v.

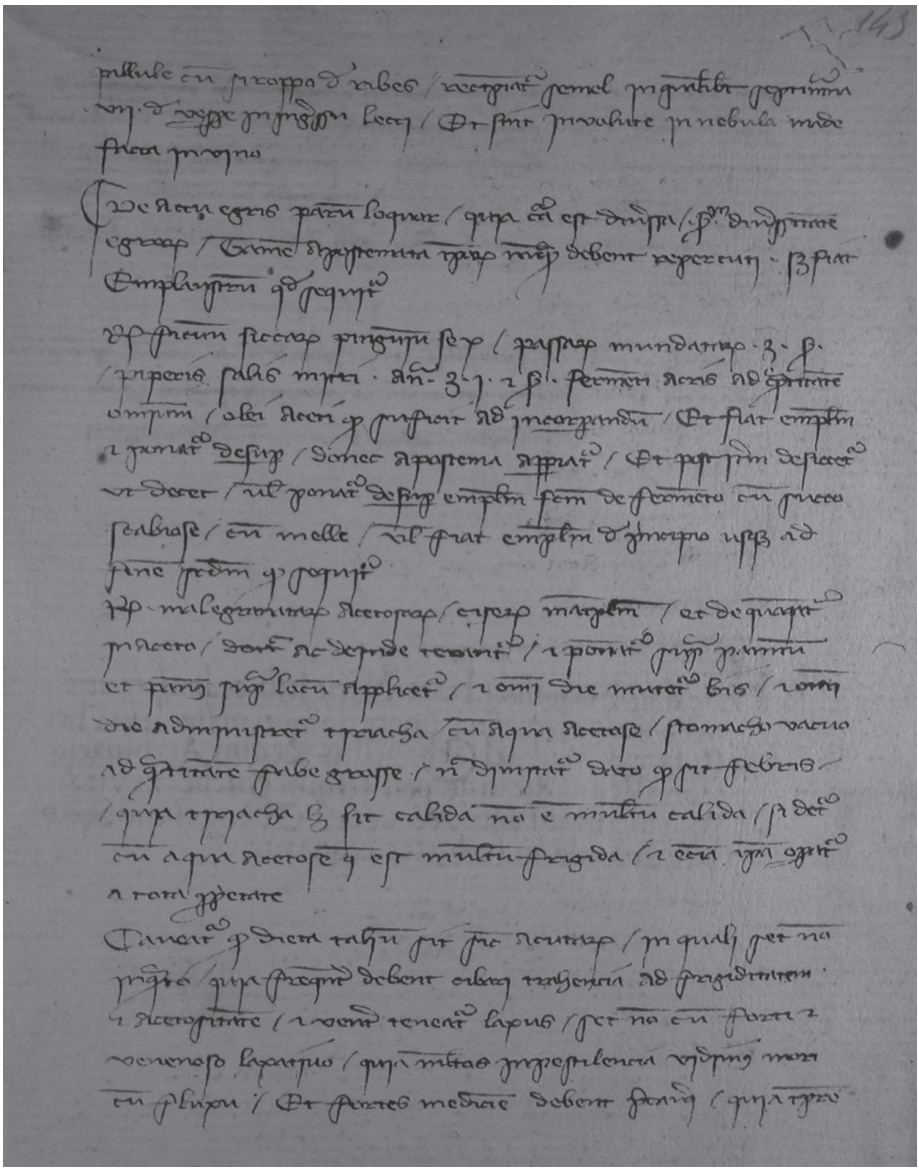

**Fig. 3** MS Barcelona, University Library, 591, f. 143r.

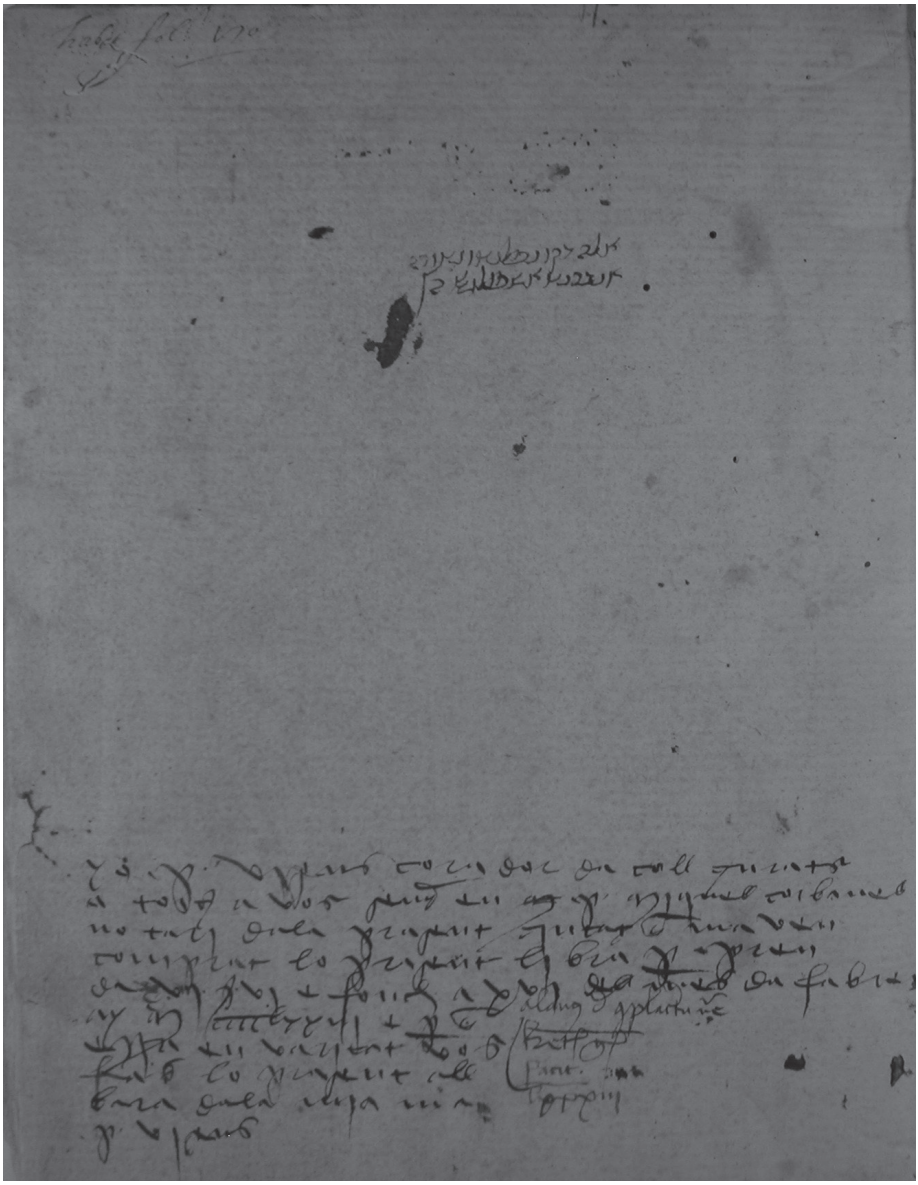

**Fig. 4** MS Barcelona, University Library, 591, f. 144v, Hebrew annotation.

*tis*, and one Cato and one tract against epidemics. The second page of the first leaf starts in "*cudit*" and ends in "*placet*". And the last leaf starts in "*pidole*" and ends in "*tempore*".

As can be deduced from the description of 1433, we are dealing with a miscellaneous codex, containing, among other items, a copy of the *De planctu naturae ad Deum* by Alan of Lille. This book is not altogether common in Catalan medieval inventories, either those of private persons or of institutions, and therefore its identification with MS 591 of the University Library of Barcelona was not difficult (see Figs. 2-3). In fact, the University of Barcelona Library gained many book collections in the nineteenth century from ecclesiastical institutions when the latter were suppressed. Concerning the identification of the book that once belonged to Bernat d'Espluges and MS 591 there can be no doubt: the textual references on the first and last leaves match perfectly (the covers and the binding, however, are modern). And – although not stated in the inventory – in the book itself a very curious element can be found: two lines in Hebrew script, but in Catalan language, that say:

Alà, *De complantu natura*,
en Bernat Espulgues hn[2]

Almost certainly, shortly following the death of Bernat d'Esplugues, after drafting the inventory of the library – most likely in order to sell it and charge his commission – the Jewish bookseller wrote down this short note in Hebrew letters. As it would conceivably only have been intelligible to himself, he was likely trying to conceal it from his potential clients. But thanks to this note it is plain to us that MS 591 is one of the manuscripts that once formed part of the library of Bernat d'Esplugues, notary of the city of Barcelona, in the early fifteenth century.

Notarial registers are possibly even more interesting in relation to the cooperation of the different craftsmen involved in the production of the book. They give us information not only about their social condition, but also about their race and religious affiliation. Together with the professional scribes, illuminators, and binders, a number of persons appear whom we would suppose to be moving in a context completely alien to the book production channels. Never-

[2] MS Barcelona, University Library, 591, f. 144v (see Fig. 4).

theless, in one way or another they were engaged as part-time scribes or booksellers, whether for economic profit or for personal enjoyment.

Of these I have found many examples. For instance a textile trader who wrote in his will, almost as an afterthought, that apart from his main profession he was also a "*scriptor littere rotunde*", or "scribe of rounded letters". Perhaps the latter occupation had been his first training before he moved on to the textile trade for monetary reasons. And those belonging to what we would call today the liberal professions, such as solicitors, lawyers, doctors or notaries, would undoubtedly now and then copy books for their personal use. Also literate craftsmen or merchants occasionally used their leisure time to earn some coins copying a text, mostly but not exclusively in the vernacular, and many clerics of all conditions did the same with Latin texts.

Many examples of this practice are mentioned in the notarial registers, but also in a number of codices there can be found annotations, mostly in the explicits, announcing that we are dealing with an autograph copy: "*de pròpia mà*" ("by my own hand"), in Catalan. And sometimes these occasional scribes say something else about themselves: they are clerics, lawyers, notaries, doctors, tanners, tailors and shoemakers, among many other professions.

They also sold books, when possible, especially if their primary occupation was selling something else. Again notarial registers could offer a number of examples of this practice, but in this case I will bring in instead another witness: Jeronimus of Zurita (1512-1580), scholar, historian and official chronicler of Aragon, who was the author of the widely read *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. In one of the volumes of this monumental work he specifies how he often visited tailors' shops, where he bought old manuscripts condemned to be taken apart turned into reinforcement for bindings. Many of them were rescued by Jeronimus from these tailors, but regretfully a great many others went to the binders.

Certainly this was a case of unfair competition, but worse examples can be found, such as the beadles of the Seo of the Cathedral of Barcelona: "*badellus ac venditor librorum sedis Barchinonae*", who are well-documented for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We know some of their names (Bellmunt, Ber or Beer, and Gregori), and they took part in many bookselling operations, since they acted as intermediaries for the Cathedral. This may appear unproblematic, until we discover that their operations were not always perfectly legal, and that they were sometimes responsible for the ultimate dispersion of some collections related to the Seo of Barcelona, mostly – although not

exclusively – belonging to canons. These beadles must not be mistaken for the beadles of the universities or *studia humanitatis*, who were very much involved in the university *pecia* system.

Although we must not ignore these occasional scribes and semi-legal vendors, the world of the book, its production, and above all its distribution and transmission belonged to the professional *librarius*, also called *libraterius*, *venditor librorum*, and *curritor librorum* – terms which have their respective translations to the Catalan vernacular. They were mostly, as previously mentioned, Jews or *conversi*, and they monopolised the commerce of the book in Barcelona during the final centuries of the Middle Ages.

Some of these *librarii*, *llibreters*, and *llibreriers*, as they are called in Catalan, are fairly well known to us. On many occasions we find them involved in public auctions or acting as intermediaries between and a seller and a buyer. Let us start with Joan Desplà, who is documented as *librarius* between 1398 and 1447. In a source from 1437 he is described as "*neophitus destructor librorum Barchinone*", that is, "neophyte, destroyer of the books of Barcelona" – and the truth is that we do not know why. Perhaps among his other businesses, he also acquired old manuscripts in order to take them apart and sell their leaves to binders, most of them Jews like himself. He must have started his career as bookbinder, since that trade is ascribed to him in an inventory of 1404, and from there he moved on to the more lucrative business of organising the whole production process and selling the books. Many other members of his family were occupied in the book trade business as well, since in 1441 a Francesch Desplà is documented as "*librater qui stà a Sent Jaume*". Nevertheless, it would be quite risky to ascertain that this Francesch was Joan's son.

Another *librater* was Guillem Sacoma, *corredor de libres*, who can be traced in Barcelona between 1413 and 1464. We meet him acting as intermediary on a number of occasions. On one of these, a witness declared that Sacoma had a book including a work of Bartholus de Saxoferratus – surely for sale. He was present at the auction where the books of the royal notary Antoni de Font were sold after his death, and Sacoma sold some of them personally by express order of de Font's executors. We also know that he had more books from third parties to be sold. Guillem Sacoma seems to have been the first in a long list of *libraters* with the same family name.

In addition to Desplà and Sacoma we have documented more than 30 other booksellers in fifteenth-century Barcelona. Most of them were Jews and later *conversi*, and most of them belonged to real dynasties of booksellers, with

fathers, sons and nephews working together in the same trade. Thus we have documented the Corró, the Mascaró, the Sabater and the Sastre, among many others. The list is long and well-known thanks to the works of some Catalan Hebraists who, almost half a century ago, studied the roll of the Catalan Jews and *conversi* in the transmission of the medieval manuscripts.

In conclusion, the cooperation, sometimes unconscious, between the notaries and the booksellers allows us a glimpse of the bibliographical inheritance of the Catalonian past. Notaries, booksellers, scribes, and printers, miniaturists and illuminators, Christians and Jews, professionals and intruders, all worked together in the last centuries of the Middle Ages to make, control and put in circulation thousands of manuscripts. Documents and books still conceal some secrets, and many books are still awaiting discovery of the collection to which they once belonged in the distant past, and how they reached their present deposit.

## *Bibliography*

We have opted to include a bibliography summarising the major works and subjects mentioned in our contribution. Many of them refer to other studies that can be consulted for further information.

Classic but useful pieces of work on the bookshop business in early medieval Barcelona (with some data, though limited, about Catalonia on the whole) can also be found (in chronological order) in:

*Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana migeval*, ed. A. RUBIÓ LLUCH (Barcelona, 1908-1921; anastatic edition: Barcelona, 2007).

*Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y librería en Barcelona (1474-1553*), ed. J.M. MADURELL MARIMON and J. RUBIÓ BALAGUER (Barcelona, 1955).

Data on the book trade in the final centuries of the Middle Ages and the early years of printing can be found in the following works (always in chronological order):

HERNANDO DELGADO, J., "L'ensenyament a Barcelona, segle XIV: Documents dels protocols notarials: Primera part: Instruments notarials de l'Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona, 1350-1400", *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 12 (1993), pp. 141-271.

ID., *Llibres i lectors a la Barcelona del segle XIV*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1995).

ID., "L'ensenyament a Barcelona, segle XIV: Documents dels protocols notarials: Segona part: Instruments notarials de l'Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona i de l'Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, 1294-1400", *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 16 (1997), pp. 131-298.

ID., "Crèdit i llibres a Barcelona, segle XV: Els contractes de venda de rendes (censals morts i violaris) garantits amb vendes simulades de llibres: El llibre, instrument econòmic i objecte de cultura", *Estudis Hisòrics i Documents dels Arxius de Protocols* 18 (2000), pp. 7-222.

ID., "Del llibre manuscrit al llibre imprès: La confecció del llibre a Barcelona durant el segle xv", *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 21 (2002), pp. 257-603.

IGLESIAS-FONSECA, J.A., *Llibres i lectors a la Barcelona del segle XV: Les biblioteques de clergues, juristes i altres ciutadans a través de la documentació notarial (anys 1396-1475)*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1996), now online at: http://www.tesisenxarxa.net/TDX-0418108-171750/.

ID., "Livres et lecteurs à Barcelone au XVe siècle: L'exemple des artisans", *Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits* 50.2 (1996), pp. 380-389.

ID., "Le monde de la reliure et de la librairie en Catalogne: Notices documentaires (XIV^e^-XV^e^ siècles)", in: *La collaboration dans la production de l'écrit médiéval: Actes du XIII^e^ Colloque internationale de paléographie latine, Weingarten, 22-25 septembre 2000* (unpublished).

PEÑA DÍAZ, M., *Cataluña en el Renacimiento: Libros y lenguas* (Lleida, 1996).

ID., *El laberinto de los libros: Historia cultural de la Barcelona del Quinientos* (Madrid, 1997).

Studies on the presence of Jews and *conversos* in the manuscript and stationary trade in late medieval Barcelona have a long historiographical tradition (as can be seen in some of the titles cited in the previous section and in the following list of examples):

MILLÀS VALLICROSA, J.M., "Los judíos barceloneses y las artes del libro", *Sefarad* 16 (1956), pp. 129-135.

MADURELL MARIMON, J.M., "Encuadernadores y libreros barceloneses judíos y conversos (1322-1458)", *Sefarad* 21(1961), pp. 300-338; 22 (1962), pp. 345-372; and 23 (1963), pp. 74-103.

The presence of Hebraic notes in documents and manuscripts, only partially noticed by many essays, does not have any group paper, which is why we refer to one of the few that has dealt with them exclusively:

IGLESIAS-FONSECA, J.A., M. MAYER OLIVÉ, and J.R. MAGDALENA, "Notes hebraiques: Un element codicogràfic menystingut", in: *Actes del I Congrés per a l'estudi dels jueus en territori de llengua catalana, Barcelona-Girona, 15-17 octubre 2001*, ed. T. CALDERS *et al*. (Barcelona, 2004), pp. 265-285.

Bernat d'Esplugues' library has been given special attention in some of our papers:

IGLESIAS-FONSECA, J.A. *Llibres i lectors a la Barcelona del segle XV*, Chapter IV, "Els clàssics a la biblioteca de Bernat d'Esplugues (†1433)", pp. 213-225.

ID., "Els clàssics a la biblioteca de Bernat d'Esplugues (†1433), notari i escrivà del Consell de la Ciutat: I", *Faventia* 22.2 (2000), pp. 85-119.

ID., "El bibliòfil Bernat d'Esplugues (†1433), notari i escrivà del Consell de la Ciutat", *Barcelona: Quaderns d'Història* 5 (2001), pp. 57-78.

ID., "Los humanistas en la biblioteca de Bernat d'Esplugues (†1433), notario y escribano del *Consell de la Ciutat* de Barcelona", in: *Humanismo y pervivencia del*

*mundo clásico: Homenaje al profesor Antonio Fontán*, ed. J.M. MAESTRE MAESTRE *et al.*, 5 vols. (Alcañiz-Madrid, 2002), 3.5, pp. 2229-2238.

ID., "De librerías desaparecidas y códices supervivientes: los de la biblioteca de Bernat d'Esplugues (†1433), notario del *Consell de la Ciutat* de Barcelona", *Estudis Històrics i Documents dels Arxius de Protocols* 20 (2002), pp. 121-164.

ID., "Los manuscritos L-35 (Barcelona, AHC), 591 (Barcelona, BU), S.II.26 (El Escorial) y T.II.14 (El Escorial), testimonios de la dispersión de una impresionante librería medieval, la de Bernat d'Esplugues (†1433), notario del *Consell de la Ciutat* de Barcelona", *Codices Manuscripti* 42-43 (2003), pp. 27-53.

On the possibilities of notarial documentation for the history of the book see, among other publications, the following papers:

IGLESIAS-FONSECA, J.A., "El llibre a la Catalunya baixmedieval: Notes per a un estat de la qüestió", *Faventia* 15.2 (1993), pp. 39-73.

ID., *Llibres i lectors a la Barcelona del segle XV*, especially chapter V, "La circulació del llibre", pp. 226-275.

ID., "La documentación notarial y la historia del libro en Cataluña: Algunas aportaciones recientes: Perspectivas de estudio", in: *Conceptos: Actas del III Congreso de Historia de la Cultura Escrita*, ed. C. SÁEZ SÁNCHEZ (Alcalá de Henares, 1998), pp. 169-188.

One of the main historians on the notarial institution and of its written products is Laureà Pagarolas, director of the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Barcelona, whose help and collaboration we greatly appreciate. Among his latest contributions, see:

PAGAROLAS SABATÉ, L., "Tipología documental y aprovechamiento histórico de los libros notariales catalanes", in: *Perspectivas actuales sobre las fuentes notariales de la Edad Media* (Zaragoza, 2004), pp. 47-82.

ID., *Los archivos notariales. Qué son y cómo se tratan* (Gijón, 2007).

ID., "Los archivos de protocolos, depositarios de la memoria colectiva", in: *El nervio de la República: El officio de escribano en el Siglo de Oro*, ed. E. VILLALBA-TORNÉ (Madrid, 2010), pp. 315-336.

This documentation, as other remarkably important sources, allows us to identify the entry of people alien to the art of books into the profession. For a first approach to this phenomenon, see:

IGLESIAS-FONSECA, J.A., "Le statut du scripteur en Catalogne (XIVe-XVe siècles): une approche", in: *Le statut du scripteur au Moyen Âge. Actes du XIIe Colloque internationale de paléographie latine, Cluny, 17-20 juillet 1998*, ed. M.C. HUBERT *et al*. (Paris, 2000), pp. 229-266.

Some fragments and *membra disiecta* of special interest derived from our investigation can be seen, among others, in the following studies (some are the result of the present interdisciplinary investigation project in collaboration with archivists, philologists and literature and art historians):

IGLESIAS-FONSECA, J.A., "Un bifoli en pergamí de la parròquia barcelonina de Vilanova del Vallès: El testimoni en català més antic del *Llibre de conservació de sanitat* de Joan de Toledo (s. XIV)", *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 19 (2000), pp. 389-428.

ID., "*Minima palaeographica*: Un còdex humanístic de l'*Eneida* de Virgili a Sant Cugat del Vallès (Barcelona)", *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 43 (2001-2002), pp. 569-576.

ID., "Un investigador ens presenta un document: El testimoni més antic del *Bestiari* conegut fins ara a Catalunya a l'Arxiu Històric de Girona", *Informació. Butlletí de l'Arxiu Històric de Girona* 27, June 2005, p. 3.

ID., "Uno de los testimonios conocidos más antiguo de un Bestiari en catalán (Arxiu Històric de Girona, colección de fragmentos)", in: *Actas del XIII Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval: In memoriam Alan Deyermond*, ed. J.M. FRADEJAS *et al*. (Valladolid, 2010), pp. 1047-1054.

ID., "*Membra disiecta* de una traducción italiana del *De re militari* de Vegecio en Sant Cugat del Vallès (Barcelona)", *Cultura Neolatina* 74 (2014, in press).

ID., "Un comentario, en catalán, a los *Hhc* (13-15) del Archivo Parroquial de Caldes de Montbui (Barcelona): Aportación al *Corpus Biblicum Medii Aevi Cataloniae*", *Biblia y Archivos de la Iglesia: Actas del XXVI Congreso de la Asociación de Archiveros de la Iglesia en España, Bilbao, 12-16 sep. 2011*, ed. A. HEVIA BALLINA (Oviedo, 2012, in press).

ID., and J.M. PERUJO, "Un nou testimoni català de l'anònima *Visió d'Ultratomba* del segle XIV", *Revista de Literatura Medieval* 24 (2012, in press).

ID., "'*Proverbi contra homens trop simples e descurats*': Un cuaderno de proverbios del s. XIV (AC VO, Ajuntament de Granollers, col. doc. № 31), in: *Actas del XV Congreso internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval: San Millán de la Cogalla (La Rioja), 8-14 septiembre 2010* (Logroño, 2014, in press).

# *Libri suspecti, libri prohibiti*: Wycliffite and Hussite Writings in Fifteenth-Century Polish Towns

PAWEŁ KRAS

From January to October 1480 the inquisitorial court presided by Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki of Włocławek interrogated several men and women from the region of Cuyavia, who were accused of Hussite heresy. The trial of the Cuyavian heretics is one of the last recorded in the fifteenth-century registers from the Church province of Gniezno.[1] The extensive records of that trial are preserved in a separate register of the Włocławek bishop and are recorded under the heading "*Hic actitate sunt deposiciones inquisicionis super haeretica pravitate et secte Hussitarum in aliquot foliis continuative de anno 1480*". The interrogations of heresy suspects, testimonies of witnesses, as well as sentences and abjurations first had been produced on loose parchment

[1] The original register of Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki of Włocławek is preserved in Archiwum Diecezjalne in Włocławek, MS ABKP 1 (107). The 1480 trial of the Cuyavian Utraquists is recorded at the very beginning of that register (ff. 2r-7r). Extensive fragments of these materials are published in *Acta capitulorum necnon iudiciorum ecclesiasticarum selecta*, ed. B. ULANOWSKI, 3 vols. (Cracow, 1894-1918: *Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia* 13, 16, 18) (henceforth AC), 3, Nos. 515-532, pp. 234-246; *Monumenta historica dioeceseos Wladislaviensis* 4 (1884), pp. 4-26.

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 195-226.

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leaves, which were later collected and bound together to form a separate book of the episcopal register.[2] It is worth noting that the trial of Cuyavian Hussites in 1480 is the first recorded and complete set of judicial proceedings against heresy suspects from the diocese of Włocławek since 1431. Due to the gap in the episcopal register of the diocese of almost half a century, it remains a unique source of information about the dissemination of Hussite ideas in the north of the Polish kingdom. The recorded interrogations shed light on the organisation and activities of Polish Hussites, men and women, laymen and priests, in the territory of Cuyavia in the second half of the fifteenth century. The careful examination of these materials shows well-organised and interrelated communities of people, who shared the Hussite commitment to the administration of the Eucharist under two species to the laity, and a critical approach to the Roman Church. In the opinion of the Catholic clergy, the region of Cuyavia, stretching between the towns of Pakość and Nieszawa, was notorious for heresy since the 1430s, when the first adherents of Hussite doctrine were found there. Later records have demonstrated that the groups of Cuyavian Hussites came into being and developed under the protection of local noble families. Noble protectors secured the administration of the Eucharist under two species for the laity, provided money and food for Utraquist priests and other community members, and obstructed inquisitorial actions undertaken by the ecclesiastical authorities. The groups of Hussites operated both in small towns and villages. Their members were recruited mostly from among the nobles and well-to-do town dwellers, who were tightly bound by family relations, neighbourhood and business. The most characteristic feature of these Hussite communities was the participation in the Mass, during which the Communion *sub utraque* was administered to everyone. The Cuyavian Hussites held the opinion that that the Eucharist under two species had been established by Christ, and that this form was necessary for salvation. That is why they did their best to receive the Communion *sub utraque* as frequently as possible, sometimes travelling long distances to attend an Utraquist service.[3]

[2] A detailed description of the register is provided by A. TOMCZAK, *Kancelaria biskupów włocławskich w okresie księgi wpisów XV-XVIII w.* (Toruń, 1964), pp. 127-129.

[3] P. KRAS, *Husyci w piętnastowiecznej Polsce* (Lublin, 1998), pp. 138-160; J. SZWEDA and A. SZWEDA, "Z dziejów husytyzmu na Kujawach i w ziemi dobrzyńskiej", *Zapiski Kujawsko-Dobrzyńskie* 14 (2000), pp. 37-68; S. BYLINA, "L'Utraquisme en Pologne à la fin du XV^e siècle", in: *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, ed. Z.V. DAVID and D.R. HOLETON, 1- (Prague, 1998-), 5.1 (2004), pp. 237-243.

The interrogations of the 1480 trial offer a number of details about members of these Hussite communities, their meetings, the administration of the Eucharist, and religious ideas they shared. In the testimonies delivered by heresy suspects and witnesses there are also occasional references to the circulation of books. First of all, it looks as if Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki of Włocławek and his associates in the jury were particularly interested to learn more about any writings which were reportedly owned by members of these Hussite groups. The bishop and his deputy judges were eager to know the titles of books and their contents. Furthermore, they tried to extract information about the origins or production of these books, and to learn the names of those who had access to them. Unfortunately, details about such suspicious books are very fragmentary and disappointing for a historian of literacy. Apart from vague references to the suspicious character of those writings, there is usually no substantial information about their titles, contents and readers. The episcopal register merely records the circulation of some suspicious writings, which were purchased by members of the Hussite communities and kept in their houses. Sometimes it is possible to draw up a list of people who were intermediaries in the purchase or transfer of such books, but rarely of their readers. Generally, the possession of any books by lay people was considered suspicious by the ecclesiastical authorities and required due investigation. The examination of such cases brought ambiguous results, demonstrating as it did that the possession of books by lay people or their participation in the transfer of books had usually nothing to do with literacy. This is confirmed by the interrogation of petty nobleman Frydan of Lubsin, who was a member of the Utraquist community in Nieszawa. Frydan was an illiterate man, but in his house he kept a suspicious writing (*littera*) given to him by an unnamed priest. Frydan and his wife were well aware of the heretical character of this writing and tried to get rid of it. In the spring of 1479, probably after the first arrests of Utraquists from Nieszawa, Frydan was so upset that he gave the writing to his neighbour, who later handed it over to his parish priest.[4] It looks as if Frydan's house served as a temporary shelter for some unlicensed writings, and that he himself was rather an unwilling custodian than an enthusiast of Hussite doctrine, ready to learn more by individual book study.

Most details on the suspicious writings circulating among the Cuyavian Hussites are related to liturgical books, which were used by a priest during mass service. Such books were owned by Mikołaj of Szelejewo, a priest who

[4] AC 3, No. 520, p. 239.

celebrated masses in private houses and administered the Eucharist *sub utraque* to the Hussites of Nieszawa. His collection of books comprised a Czech missal and a Polish vernacular translation of Gospels and Apostolic Letters.[5] Some of these books had belonged to Mikołaj of Nieszawa, a cloak-maker and mayor of Nieszawa, who in the late 1470s became the leader of the local Hussite community. His house served as a place for regular meetings of the Hussites from Nieszawa and the surrounding area, who used to attend mass service and receive the Eucharist under both species there. Apart from liturgical books, the Hussites from Nieszawa had some vernacular writings which had been produced for lay people. In the records of the 1480 trial they are termed "*truffe alias klathy*", which in Old Polish means "erroneous and untrue texts", or just fables.[6] Interestingly, such writings belonged to the aforementioned mayor of Nieszawa, and they may indirectly testify to his reading abilities and personal interest in book study.[7]

While conducting the interrogations of heresy suspects and witnesses, bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki and other members of his court either followed the interrogatory which had been produced by the ecclesiastical authorities of the Gniezno province as early as the 1420s, or used their own questionnaire, prepared for that particular trial. Their reflections on the Hussite groups in Cuyavia provide a good starting point for the study of the circulation of books among dissident religious groups in fifteenth-century Poland. I am not going to offer a coherent picture of the transfer, production, and dissemination of heretical texts, Wycliffite and Hussite, in Polish late medieval society. Instead, I wish to make some general comments on the literacy of the so-called Polish Hussites who had access to unauthorised Latin, Czech and Polish writings. At the same time, I intend to present the attitude of Polish clergy to lay literacy and analyse various methods adopted to prevent the circulation of 'suspicious books' among the laity.

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Recent studies on heresy and literacy in the Middle Ages have demonstrated an important role of writings in fomenting and spreading religious dis-

[5] AC 3, No. 519, p. 238.
[6] AC 3, No. 517, p. 236.
[7] KRAS, *Husyci*, pp. 94-95.

sent.[8] In contrast to the early activities of heterodox preachers in the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth centuries, the new religious movements of Cathars and Waldensians, emerging in the last quarter of the twelfth century, were the first to disseminate their teachings and rituals in written form. For a long time, both Cathars and Waldensians gave priority to orality, popularising their ideas by means of public sermons and private instructions. The teaching on the Bible by a talented preacher, whose life followed the model of the *vita apostolica*, remained the best method of attracting people's attention and spreading a new doctrine. Well-known leaders of Catharism in late twelfth-century Languedoc were highly appreciated for their biblical learning and preaching talents, which enabled them successfully to confront Catholic bishops and Cistercians. Waldes of Lyon, who in the 1170s founded a popular movement of voluntary poverty, gained much popularity as a penitent preacher and advocate of the apostolic life. He and a band of his first followers were illiterate; *ex auditu* they acquired some biblical knowledge. Waldes himself was so desperate to learn Christ's teachings directly from the Bible, that he commissioned a priest to translate some fragments of the Gospel and other religious writings for him. As Waldes was illiterate, he hired another priest, who read those vernacular texts to him on a regular basis.[9] Direct access to the Bible became a key element of Waldensian doctrine. Some early Waldensian groups in French, Italian and German towns formed textual communities which made regular reading and studying of the Bible a central point of their religious activities.[10] The well-known case of the Waldensians from Metz provides a

[8] See classic studies by A. BORST, "La transmission de l'hérésie au Moyen Âge", in: *Hérésie et sociétés dans l'Europe préindustrielle, 11e-18e siécle*, ed. J. LE GOFF (Paris and The Hague, 1968: *Civilisations et société* 10), pp. 276-277; H. GRUNDMANN, "*Litteratus – illitteratus*: Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter", *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte* 40 (1958), pp. 1-65; in particular pp. 54-58; a good overview of the problem by P. BILLER, "Heresy and literacy: Earlier history of the theme", in: *Heresy and literacy 1000-1530*, ed. P. BILLER and A. HUDSON (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1-18; see also his reexamination of the topos '*haereticus-illiteratus*': P. BILLER, "The topos and reality of the heretic as illiteratus", in: ID., *The Waldensians, 1175-1520: Between a Religious Order and a Church* (Aldershot, 2001: *Variorum Collected Studies Series* 676), pp. 169-190.

[9] A. PATSCHOVSKY, "The literacy of Waldensianism from Valdes to *c.* 1400", in: *Heresy and literacy*, pp. 117-120; E. CAMERON, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 11-15.

[10] The term 'textual community' comes from B. STOCK, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Models and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983). Brian Stock studies the formation of (primarily eleventh-century) heretical groups as 'textual communities' in detail (pp. 88-150).

good example of a lay community composed of men and women meeting together to read and comment the vernacular texts of the Bible. Pope Innocent III was so much intrigued by the activity of this group that he ordered an investigation into the matter by a special commission. Among a number of issues he wanted to know about, he was particularly interested to learn who had produced the vernacular translation of the Bible. After the investigation of the Waldensians from Metz had been conducted and due report presented to the Pope, the vernacular Bible was considered heretical and burnt at the stake.[11]

Available records of heresy trials against Waldensians have confirmed that books did not become an efficient instrument in popularising their ideas. The Waldensian translations of the Bible into the vernacular were very limited, and their first liturgical books started to circulate at the end of the Middle Ages only. Until the sixteenth-century Reformation, Waldensian doctrine and religious practices were handed down by itinerant preachers called *magistri*, who irregularly visited communities of co-believers scattered mostly in villages and small towns. The perseverance of Waldensian groups, despite repeated repression, was made possible thanks to their organisation based upon families and neighbourhoods. Waldensians living in the same village or town district secured visits and preaching by their masters. They were able to keep their meetings in secret and collected food and money for their leaders and fellow refugees.[12] Biblical learning and extraordinary abilities to memorise extensive fragments of Holy Scripture became a characteristic feature of Waldensian preachers, feats of memory which much impressed their Catholic opponents. A long training process served to produce illiterate preachers, whose biblical knowledge rested exclusively upon their own memory.[13]

A wider circulation of unlicensed writings became characteristic of some beguines, who were attracted by the teaching of Franciscan Peter John Olivi (1248-1298). They recorded his sermons, copied them and distributed them on a massive scale. The Dominican Bernard Gui, papal inquisitor in the diocese of Toulouse, reported that Olivi's writings in the vernacular were widely disseminated among the communities of his beguine followers in Languedoc. They publicly read and commented them, in this way providing guidelines on how to

[11] L.E. BOYLE, "Innocent III and vernacular versions of Scripture", in: *The Bible in the Medieval World*, ed. K. WALSH and D. WOOD (Oxford, 1985: *Studies in Church History: Subsidia* 4), pp. 97-107.

[12] CAMERON, *Waldenses*, pp. 30-33.

[13] PATSCHOVSKY, "The literacy of Waldesianism", pp. 131-133; P. BILLER, "The oral and the written: The case of the Alpine Waldensians", in: ID., *Waldensians*, pp. 159-167.

achieve Christian perfection, which religious practices should be observed, and which rejected.[14] His critical remarks on ecclesiastical abuses inspired anticlerical attitudes on the part of some beguines, who charged the clergy with the betrayal of Christ's teachings. The role of Olivi's writings in fomenting the heresy of the Free Spirit is still under discussion; their impact on the evolution of the beguine movement in the fourteenth century has been widely acknowledged.[15]

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On a much wider scale, written texts contributed to the rise and spread of the two late medieval movements of the English Lollards and the Bohemian Hussites. The works of their two leaders, John Wycliffe (1330-1384) and Jan Hus (*c.* 1369-1415), became a repository of doctrine and religious practice which inspired their followers. The writings of John Wycliffe were abbreviated, translated into the vernacular, and supplied with commentaries by his Oxford disciples as early as the 1380s. They served to produce a coherent programme of religious reformation which was adopted and popularised outside Oxford by itinerant preachers. As has been concluded by Anne Hudson and other scholars, the success of Lollardy in late medieval England resulted from the widespread production and circulation of original Lollard texts, both in Latin and in the vernacular.[16] Alongside dynamic preaching campaigns organised all around England by the first generation of Lollards, Wycliffite teaching was disseminated by books and leaflets. In contrast to the earlier movements of religious dissent, written texts no longer played merely a subsidiary role. They were produced both to provide *materia praedicandi* for itinerant Lollard preachers and to be read by Wycliffe's followers on their own. The complete translation of the Bible in two versions, the Glossed Gospels, and a

[14] Bernard Gui, *Manuel d'inquisiteur*, ed. and trans. G. MOLLAT and G. DRIOUX, 2 vols. (Paris, 1927: *Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age* 9), 2, pp. 138-143.

[15] R.E. LERNER, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1972), pp. 35-54; D. BURR, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park, PA, 2001), pp. 218-220.

[16] The best overview of that problem is provided by A. HUDSON, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 66-110. On the biblical erudition of Lollards see also K. GOSH, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and Interpretations of Rexts* (Cambridge, 2001).

cycle of Lollard sermons for the whole liturgical calendar bear witness to the large-scale production of Lollards books.[17] At the same time the registers of English bishoprics provide much evidence that books circulated widely among lay Lollards and became an important factor in their religious learning.[18]

The controversy about Wycliffe's writings at the University of Prague in the first decade of the fifteenth century sparked off a revolt of Bohemian masters and students, which later turned into the Hussite revolution. The writings of pre-Hussite reformers such as Milič of Kroměříž (†1374) or Matthew of Janov (†1394), as well as those of Jan Hus and his university colleagues, were copied and disseminated massively both in Prague and in the countryside. Similarly to the English Lollards, the Bohemian Hussites used various texts to give sermons and promote their programme of church reforms. Some texts, mostly sermons and songs, were produced in the Czech vernacular to popularise the ideas of the Bohemian Reformation among the laity. Among them was a special genre of popular literature, in which the text was supplied with pictures. Such illustrated books (*libri cum picturis*) were produced to facilitate readers without basic theological skills to better understand the text.[19] Hussite manifestos distributed from 1415 onwards deserve a short comment as well. They were produced as an instrument of political propaganda to rebuke charges against the Hussites and to promote the programme of the Bohemian Reformation outside the Czech lands.[20]

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In the first decades of the fifteenth century, Wycliffite and Hussite writings made their way to Poland and contributed to the debate on church reform both at the University of Cracow and elsewhere. Their reception in Poland resulted from multiple contacts of Poles with Bohemia in the pre-Hussite and Hussite

[17] HUDSON, *The Premature Reformation*, pp. 228-277. On the production and circulation of Lollard writings in late medieval England see also her papers collected in *Lollards and Their Books* (London, 1985).

[18] A. HUDSON, "*Laicus litteratus*: The paradox of Lollardy", in: *Heresy and literacy*, pp. 222-236.

[19] F. ŠMAHEL, "Literacy and heresy in Hussite Bohemia", in: *Heresy and literacy*, pp. 237-254.

[20] K. HRUZA, "Schrift und Rebellion: Die Hussitische Manifeste aus Prag von 1415 -1431", in: *Geist, Gesellschaft, Kirche im 13.-16. Jahrhundert*, ed. F. ŠMAHEL (Prague, 1999: *Colloquia Mediaevalia Pragensia* 1), pp. 81-108.

periods. The geographical proximity of the two countries and the similarity of their Slavic languages provided a favourable opportunity for the easy spreading of Hussite doctrines in Poland. Before the outbreak of the Hussite revolution in 1419, hundreds of Poles travelled to Bohemia as students, pilgrims, merchants, artisans or diplomats. Recent research has demonstrated that about a thousand students from the Polish kingdom studied at Prague before 1419.[21] Some of them earned degrees from Charles University, and during their studies in Prague they had the chance to meet Jan Hus and other university leaders of the Bohemian Reformation. They closely watched the growth of the reformatory activities of Hus, listened to his sermons, read his texts, and commented on the religious upheaval in Prague. Some Polish visitors joined, even if only for a while, the rising Hussite movement, whereas others returned to Poland carrying in their luggage the religious books produced by Bohemian reformers.[22] The dramatic persecution of Master Jan Hus at Constance in 1415 and the outbreak of the Hussite revolution four years later did not put an end to regular visits of Poles to Bohemia. King Władysław II Jagiełło (Ladislaus Jagiello, *c.* 1351/1362-1434) and the Polish bishops were so much upset by the intensity of those visits that in the 1420s they repeated bans on travel to Bohemia, threatening the disobedient with excommunication and confiscation of their property.[23] It looks as if those severe laws did not prevent Poles from travelling to Hussite Bohemia. Hundreds of Poles continued to go to the neighbouring country to find a job there, or just to pay a visit on their way to Italy. Polish priests found positions both in the Roman and the Utraquist Churches. Some others became mercenaries in the Hussite army or did business with Bohemian merchants.

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[21] K. Ożóg, *Uczeni w monarchii Jadwigi Andegaweńskiej i Władysława Jagiełły*, 1384-1434 (Cracow, 2004: *Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności* 105), pp. 27-33; id., *The Role of Poland in the Intellectual Development of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Cracow, 2009), pp. 47-49.

[22] Kras, *Husyci*, pp. 33-45 and my overview of the problem in English, "Polish-Czech relations in the Hussite period – Religious aspects", in: *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 4 (2002), pp. 177-181.

[23] Kras, *Husyci*, pp. 47-58; id., "Polish-Czech relations", pp. 182-187.

The first reception of Hussite ideas and books in Poland was possible thanks to Bohemian scholars who were offered positions at the University of Cracow, and to Poles who had studied at Prague. Writings of John Wycliffe, Jan Hus, Jerome of Prague (1379-1416), and other Bohemian theologians first came to Cracow, but later some of them circulated all over Poland. In the fifteenth-century registers of Polish bishops there are several notes relative to suspicious books and booklets from Bohemia, which reportedly were found in private collections. It looks, however, as if the circulation of Hussite texts in Poland was very limited, and there is no evidence to argue that they served to promote the ideas of the Bohemian Reformation on a wide scale. Nevertheless, some Poles, in particular Cracow students and clergymen, were interested in Hussite writings and had access to Bohemian books which provided them with information about Hussite doctrine. Outside Cracow, information about suspicious books is rarely recorded and deserves close examination. As has been mentioned already, books from Bohemia were reported to circulate in some areas far away from Cracow, such as Cuyavian towns and villages.

In contrast to the popularity of Wycliffe's ideas in Bohemia, which is confirmed by the large numbers of Bohemian copies in which his writings have survived until the present day, in late medieval Poland the teaching of the *Doctor evangelicus* attracted far fewer adherents – or at least nothing is known about them.[24] The first writings of Wycliffe were brought to Poland by students who had read and copied them at Prague. Some treatises came to Cracow with Bohemian professors, such as Stěpan of Palče, who were interested in discussing Wycliffe's philosophical and theological teachings. The reception of Wycliffe's works in Cracow was possible for a fairly long time. It was only after the condemnation of his articles at the Council of Constance in April 1415 that his writings were considered suspicious and were put under surveillance. There is no doubt that Wycliffe's works were available at Cracow University in the first half of the fifteenth century, and that Cracow professors lectured on them.[25]

[24] A. HUDSON, "From Oxford to Prague: The writings of John Wyclif and his English followers in Bohemia", *The Slavonic and East Central European Review* 75 (1997), pp. 642-657; The availability of Wycliffe's writings in Hussite Bohemia is discussed in EAD., "The Hussite catalogues of Wyclif's works", in: *Husitství – Reformace – Renesance: Sborník k 60 narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, ed. J. PÁNEK, M. POLÍVKA, and N. REJCHERTOVÁ, 3 vols. (Prague, 1994), 1, pp. 401-416.

[25] P. KRAS, "Recepcja pism Johna Wyclifa w Czechach i w Polsce w okresie husyckim", in: *Piśmiennictwo Czech i Polski w średniowieczu i wczesnej epoce nowożytnej*, ed. A. BARCIAK and W. IWAŃCZAK (Katowice, 2006), pp. 241-249.

The catalogue of Wycliffe's writings available at Cracow in that period is hard to establish, however, and only a few of his works are still preserved in the fifteenth-century manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library. The oldest of them is MS 848, which contains four philosophical writings of Wycliffe (*De ideis, De universalibus*, *De compositione hominis, De tempore*).[26] That manuscript belonged to Stěpan of Palče, a Bohemian scholar who at first had been a great admirer of Wycliffe and later became one of his key opponents and a prosecutor of Jan Hus at the Council of Constance. After the condemnation of Hus, Stěpan could not return to Prague. That is why he accepted the invitation to settle in Poland and the offer of a professorship at the University of Cracow.[27] His manuscript with Wycliffe's works had been produced in Prague, and later it was used as an exemplar to copy some of Wycliffe's treatises. One of such copies of Wycliffe's *De universalibus* was made before 1449 (now MS Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1855, ff. 86r-125v).[28]

The best testimony about the availability of Wycliffe's works in Cracow is offered by Andrew Gałka of Dobczyn, a Cracow professor of arts and canon of the St. Florian chapter, who in April 1449 was accused of heresy and had to leave Poland in a hurry. In his letters, written from his exile in Silesia, he claims that, despite ecclesiastical bans, Wycliffe's writings were at hand in Cracow and students had no problems getting hold of them. Furthermore, he confesses that he himself read Wycliffe's treatises and he gives titles of two philosophical works, *De universalibus* and *De ideis*, and of three polemical works, *De simonia, De blasphemia* and *De apostasia*.[29] Gałka's testimony looks a bit exaggerated, but it is hard to challenge his general opinion about the easy access to Wycliffe's works in Cracow. Nevertheless, there is something odd in his testimony which deserves a comment. In his letter he argues that the best information of Wycliffe's doctrine was to be acquired from the *Doctrinale fidei catholicae contra Lollardos et Hussitas*, written in the 1420s by the Eng-

[26] KRAS, *Husyci*, s. 76; ID., "Recepcja pism Johna Wyclifa", p. 243. All four of these treatises by Wycliffe are described in W.R. Thompson, *The Latin Writings of John Wyclif: Annotated Catalogue* (Toronto, 1983), pp. 21-24, 32, 33 and 36.

[27] R. PALACZ, "Stefan Palecz", *Materiały i Studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej* 5 (1967) , pp. 93-124; Th. WÜNSCH, *Konziliarismus und Polen: Personen, Politik und Programme aus Polen zur Verfassung der Kirche in der Zeit der mittelalterlichen Reformkonzilien* (Paderborn, Munich, Vienna, and Zürich, 1998), pp. 58-59; see also the recent collection of Czech studies *M. Jan Hus a M., Štěpán z Pálče* (Kladno, 2000).

[28] KRAS, "Recepcja pism Johna Wyclifa", p. 242.

[29] *Codex diplomaticus universitatis studii generalis Cracoviensis*, 4 vols. (Cracow, 1870-1884) (henceforth CDUC), 2, No. 158, p. 112 .

lish Carmelite Thomas Netter of Walden. A copy of Netter's *Doctrinale* was commissioned by Nicholas Kozłowski, Gałka's university colleague, at the Council of Basel; it was brought to Cracow in 1439.[30] For such an enthusiast of Wycliffe's ideas as Andrew of Dobczyn himself, the above-mentioned statement looks strange. If Wycliffe's writings were so easily and widely available at Cracow, why did Gałka recommend the study of Netter's *Doctrinale* to those who wanted to learn the teaching of the *Doctor evangelicus*? Why did he suggest to start with the reading of that polemical work, rather than recommend the studying of any of Wycliffe's original works? Did he find Netter's extensive quotations from Wycliffe's works more useful to those who started to be interested in his teaching, or was Netter's *Doctrinale* more available in Cracow than any of the extant treatises by John Wycliffe himself? The answer to that question must remain open.

In July 1415 the Council of Constance addressed a letter to King Władysław II Jagiełło, informing him about the condemnation of Wycliffe's and Hus's ideas. The council fathers encouraged the Polish king to defend Catholic doctrine against new heresies, and to adopt due precautions to prevent the spread of heresy in his kingdom.[31] The king and the Cracow professors replied to the letter.[32] The professors declared full cooperation with the Church in the struggle against Hussite and Wyclifitte teachings.[33] A few years later, in 1423, at the suggestion of Professor Eliasz of Wąwolnica, a new immatriculation oath was introduced to be pledged by any new student of Cracow university. Every newcomer was to reject Wycliffe's and Hus's teaching at his registration and was to declare that he had nothing to do with heresy.[34]

[30] KRAS, *Husyci*, pp. 77-78; M. HARVEY, "The diffusion of the *Doctrinale* of Thomas Netter in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries", in: *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. L. SMITH and B. WARD (London and Rio Grande, 1992), pp. 281-294, at pp. 281-283; EAD., "Netter manuscripts and printings", in: *Thomas Netter of Walden: Carmelite, Diplomat and Theologian (c. 1372-1430),* ed. J. BERGSTRÖM-ALLEN and R. COPSEY (Faversham and Rome, 2009: *Carmel in Britain: Studies on the Early History of the Carmelite Order* 4), pp. 137-178, at p. 175.

[31] *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, ed. A. LEWICKI, 3 vols. (Cracow, 1876-1894: *Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia* 2, 12, 14) (henceforth CES XV), 2, No. 61, pp. 74-75.

[32] KRAS, "Polish-Czech relations", pp. 181-182; M. MARKOWSKI, *Dzieje Wydziału Teologii Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w latach 1397-1525* (Cracow, 1996: *Studia do dziejów Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* 2), p. 84.

[33] *Magnum oecumenicum Concilium Constantiense,* ed. H. VON DER HARDT, 6 vols. in-4 (Frankfurt a.M., 1696-1700), 4, p. 873.

[34] *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, 5 vols. (Cracow, 1887-1956), 1, ed. Z.

Apart from this judicial precaution, to prevent the spread of heretical ideas the Cracow professors used to lecture against Hussite and Wycliffite doctrine. By means of scholastic methods they demonstrated that heretical articles were contrary to the Bible and church tradition. That method of argumentation, referring to *auctoritates* and *rationes*, was applied in a number of anti-Hussite treatises produced in the1420s by the most distinguished Cracow professors, such as Stěpan of Palče and Stanisław of Skarbimierz. In their writings both authors extensively used quotations from the works of Jan Hus, Jakoubek of Stříbro (1372-1429) and other Hussite theologians.[35] There is no doubt that for producing such polemical works they needed to have direct access to original Hussite writings. Some of them were collected in the private libraries of Cracow professors (Mařík Rvačka, Stěpan of Palče, Mikołaj Wigandi, Jan Isner, Stanislaw of Skarbimierz, Benedykt Hesse).

Cracow professors and students were intersted in the ideas of the Bohemian Reformation for various reasons. Some were inspired by curiosity and a desire to learn more about the religious movement which had overturned the political and social order in a neighbouring country. Others studied the original writings of Hussite theologians the better to understand their arguments and to confront them with the Catholic doctrine. In the academic discussion, heretical concepts were extracted from original writings, commented on, and rebutted by *auctoritates* and *rationes*. This was a standard method of scholastic training, which taught students how to recognise erroneous opinions and prepare counterarguments.[36]

An intriguing question is whether such heretical writings, stored in the libraries of Cracow professors, were available to students. More research on the circulation of books and censorship at the fifteenth-century University of Cracow is required to give a thorough answer. It looks as if some books deemed heretical and too dangerous for students were kept under control.

PAULI (1887), p. 11.

[35] Three anti-Hussite determinations by Stanisław of Skarbimierz were edited by Z. WŁODEK, *Scripta manent: Textus ad theologiam spectantes in Universitate Cracoviensi saeculo XV conscripti* (Cracow, 2000: *Studia do dziejów Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* 12); see also the textual analysis of Stanisław's treatises in ID., "Eklezjologia krakowska w pierwszej połowie XV wieku", in: *Jubilesz sześćsetlecia Wydziału Teologicznego w Krakowie 20 X 1996-20 X 1997* (Cracow, 1998*: Studia do dziejów Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* 10), pp. 250-271.

[36] J. GARBACIK and A. STRZELECKA, "Uniwersytet Jagielloński wobec problemów husyckich w XV wieku", *Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Historia* 5 (1964), pp. 7-52; see also the recent overview of the problem by OŻÓG, *Uczeni*, pp. 299-308.

Books of Cracow professors bequeathed to college libraries were carefully examined and censored. It was probably the threat of censorship that caused the identity of some authors, like John Wycliffe or Jan Hus, to be kept hidden in some manuscripts. Their names were either erased or changed in such a way that they could not be recognised as authors damned by the Roman Church as heretics. For example, a copy of the well-known philosophical treatise of John Wycliffe *De universalibus*, preserved in the Jagiellonian Library (MS 1855), was ascribed to William of Milverley (*Tractatus de universalibus realibus Vilhelmi Anglici*).[37] In another Cracow manuscript, which belonged to the college of canon law (MS 327), someone wrote over the information about the authorship of Jan Hus. The same operation was undergone by MS 1628, which contains ten works of Jan Hus and several minor writings of Stanislas of Znojmo, Jakoubek of Stříbro and other Czech theologians. The manuscript was produced in Bohemia around 1413 and was brought to Cracow before the condemnation of Hus at Constance. In unknown circumstances all references to Jan Hus were carefully written over in the whole manuscript.[38]

After the condemnation of John Wycliffe and Jan Hus at the Council of Constance, the public reading of and commenting on their writings was forbidden outside university lecture rooms. Nevertheless their texts were still copied and circulated in secret amongst Cracow students. A certain Wincenty, who later became a parish priest in Żydowo in the diocese of Poznań, belonged to the group of Cracow students who were reading Hussite writings. His interests in Hussite writings matured in Prague, where he had spent some time and had acquired his first works by Jan Hus. Later, during his studies at Cracow, Wincenty continued to read Hus' writings, copying and distributing them among his fellow students. In unknown circumstances the rector, the Bishop of Cracow and the papal inquisitor learnt about his secret activity and summoned him to appear before them with his books. Wincenty ignored the summons and escaped persecution for his unorthodox operations. Nevertheless, the distribu-

[37] MS Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1855, f. 86a. W.R. THOMPSON argues that the scribe, who copied Wycliffe's *De universalibus*, believed that he was dealing with the work of William of Milverley (*The Latin writings*, pp. 21-24). The opposite opinion is expressed by I.J. MUELLER, who claims that the name of Wycliffe was intentionally hidden to avoid censorship ("Preface", in: John Wycliffe, *Tractatus de universalibus* (Oxford, 1985), pp. XVII-XVIII and LXXI); see also the comments by W. SEŃKO, "Un traité inconnu '*de esse et essentia*'", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 35 (1960), pp. 233-243, at pp. 238-240.

[38] Z. BUDKOWA, review of F.M. BARTOŠ, *Literarní cinnost M. J. Husi* (Prague, 1948), in *Przegląd Historyczny* 43 (1952), p. 363.

tion of Hus's writings was forbidden by the Council of Constance, and this incurred his excommunication. That is why in 1438, after he had been appointed as parish priest of Żydowo, he applied for an absolution at the Papal Penitentiary.[39] Unfortunately, in his application there are no details about the titles of the writings by Hus he had read and copied, or about the other readers with whom he shared his interest in Hussite doctrine.[40]

Probably at the same time Henry the Czech, who was a physician and astrologer at the court of Władysław II Jagiełło, collected and read some Hussite texts. In 1429 he was for the first time charged with heresy and magic as well as with possessing some heretical books ("*libri continentes hereses*") produced in Bohemia. In his testimony Henry confessed that some of these books he had received directly from Bohemia; he refused, however, to reveal the names of those who had supplied him with such texts. These Bohemian books attracted the attention of Jan of Cracow, papal inquisitor for the diocese of Cracow, and of Stanisław of Skarbimierz, vicar general of the Cracow bishopric, who together interrogated the Czech astrologer and found him guilty of heresy.[41] It was only thanks to the king's protection that Henry the Czech escaped severe penalties and was soon released from prison.[42] His trial sheds some light on the availability of Hussite books in Cracow in the 1420s. It also demonstrates the role played by Bohemian visitors to Cracow, probably merchants, in supplying the Polish book market with Hussite or other religious texts produced in Bohemia.

Due to the patchy information it is hard to evaluate how many Cracow students were reading and distributing unlicensed books. The scale of this activity must have been widespread enough to mobilise the rector and church authorities to undertake some precautions. Searches for heretical books in Cracow were made in the early 1420s and were repeated over and over again throughout the first half of the fifteenth century. The decree of the Dominican Nicholas of Brześć, papal inquisitor for the diocese of Cracow, entitled *Inquisitoris Cracoviensis edictum de revelandis hereticis eorumque scriptis*, which can be dated to the 1440s, bears witness to continuous operations

[39] *Bullarium Poloniae*, ed. S. Kuraś and I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, 1- (Rome and Lublin, 1982-), 5 (1995), No. 790, p. 139.

[40] Kras, *Husyci,* p. 83.

[41] CES XV, 2, p. 227; "*Consilia* de Stanislas de Scarbimiria contre l'astrologue Henri Bohemus", *Studia Mediewistyczne* 25.1 (1988), pp. 145-172.

[42] A. Birkenmajer, "Sprawa magistra Henryka Czecha", *Collectanea Theologica* 17 (1936), pp. 207-224; Kras, *Husyci*, pp. 83-84.

against the circulation of unlicensed books, which was not restricted exclusively to the academic milieu.[43] The papal inquisitor, in cooperation with the bishop of Cracow, ordered all Cracow inhabitants to submit to him any suspicious books for inspection. Under pain of excommunication Cracow burghers were expected to report anyone to the inquisitor who possessed suspicious writings. A two weeks' period of grace was granted to those who had any heretical writings to give them time to hand them over to the inquisitor.[44] Unfortunately, no further details of these inquisitorial actions are available.

More light is shed on the circulation of suspicious books in Cracow by the persecution of master Andrew Gałka of Dobczyn. His fascination with Wycliffe's doctrine was unique in Cracow, as were his painstaking efforts to collect and disseminate Wycliffe's writings. Born about 1400 in the small town of Dobczyn in the Poznań diocese, he registered at the university of Cracow in the autumn of 1420 and started his studies at the Faculty of Arts. In 1422 he earned a baccalaureate of arts degree, and three years later a master of arts degree. Soon after that he started lecturing at the Faculty of Arts, and at the same time continued studies at a higher faculty, probably the Faculty of Theology. For almost thirty years, Andrew of Dobczyn worked at the University of Cracow, becoming a distinguished and respected scholar. Although he did not manage to earn any degree from his chosen higher faculty, he enjoyed great prestige among his university colleagues and students. Twice, in 1436 and in 1441, he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts. In 1439 his high academic reputation enabled him to receive a position in Cracow's St. Florian's chapter. When in

[43] Nicholas of Brześć earned a doctoral degree in theology and was twice elected Provincial of the Polish Dominican province. From *c.* 1440 to 1454 he was papal inquisitor for the diocese of Cracow, but apart from his single decree against heretical books nothing is known about his inquisitorial activities. P. KRAS, "Dominican Inquisitors in medieval Poland (14th-15th c.)", in: *Praedicatores, Inquisitores: The Dominicans and the Mediaeval Inquisition: Acts of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition, Rome, 23-25 February 2002,* ed. W. HOYER (Roma, 2004: *Dissertationes historicae* 29), pp. 249-310, at p. 304; for his recent biography with important corrections see M. ZDANEK, "Inkwizytorzy dominikańscy w diecezji krakowskiej w średniowieczu", in: *Inkwizycja papieska w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. P. KRAS (Cracow, 2010: *Studia i źródła Dominikańskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Krakowie* 7), pp. 219-237, at pp. 231-232.

[44] The decree is preserved in a single copy in MS Vatican, Ottoboni Lat. 348, f. 258r-v. For further information on that document see J. DRABINA, "Die antihussitische Handschriftensammlung des Nikolaus von Brieg in der Bibliotheca Vaticana", *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 55 (1997), pp. 219-224.

the spring of 1449 Gałka was accused of heresy and put on trial, he was a respected professor of fifty years of age.[45]

The revelation of Gałka's heresy sheds much light both on the growth of individual interest in Wycliffe's doctrine and on the secret circulation of heretical books in Cracow and elsewhere. In April 1449, Jan Elgot, vicar general of the bishop of Cracow and a university colleague of master Andrew, received Gałka's manuscript with Wycliffe's writings. As a consequence, he ordered a search in the Cracow apartment of Andrew Gałka, finding there more works of Wycliffe and by a certain Englishman who can be safely identified with Peter Payne. Wycliffite treatises were copied by Gałka himself and annotated with his comments. For Jan Elgot that was hard evidence of Gałka's fascination with Wycliffe's ideas, and of his busy activity to popularise them. Among the writings confiscated in Gałka's apartment were also some vernacular songs and poems written by master Andrew. The Cracow vicar general was so shocked by his findings that he immediately reported the whole matter to the bishop of Cracow and entrusted the papal inquisitor with due judicial actions against Gałka.[46] Senior Cracow churchmen shared the amazement of Jan Elgot and were afraid that the vernacular poems had been produced to disseminate anti-ecclesiastical ideas among the laity. Their fears were confirmed by the names of powerful Polish noblemen, which had been found in the margins of Gałka's books. That finding convinced them that master Andrew of Dobczyn was not only a heretic but also a dangerous rebel, who had planned to incite the laity into rebellion against the clergy. In particular the idea of spreading Wycliffe's teaching among high-ranking landlords may have looked perverse to the Cracow clergy.[47]

There is no direct evidence to argue that Gałka was actually in contact with any nobles who might be interested to learn more about Wycliffe's anticlerical

[45] P. Kras, "Kariera uniwersytecka Andrzeja Gałki z Dobczyna", *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 48.2 (2000), pp. 247-264.

[46] CES XV, 1, No. 63, p. 69.

[47] See the surveys of the heresy of Andrzej Gałka of Dobczyn by T. Wünsch, "'*Nec pestifera doctrina corrumpatgregem dominicum*': Zur Konfrontation zwischen Wyclifismus und Konziliarismus im Umkreis der Universität Krakau in der erste Hälfte des 15. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 44 (1995), pp. 5-26 and P. Kras, "Wyclif's tradition in fifteenth century Poland: The heresy of master Andrew Gałka of Dobczyn", in: *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 5.1 (Prague, 2004), pp. 199-210; see also the recent re-examination of the problem by P.W. Knoll, "The worst heretic: Andrzej Gałka of Dobczyn in the academic and ecclesiastical context of mid-15th century Cracow and Poland", *The Polish Review* 54.1 (2009), pp. 3-29.

teachings. The letter he addressed from his exile in Silesia to an unknown nobleman bears witness to the fact that he expected some support from influential members of the Polish nobility. That is why he presents his miserable situation after he had left Cracow in a hurry. Furthermore, he complains about the injustice he experienced at the hands of the bishop of Cracow, the bishop's officials and his university colleagues. Rejecting any charges of heresy he protests against the search of his Cracow apartment and the confiscation of his private belongings, including his books. Concluding the letter, Gałka asks the nobleman to present his complaints to the Polish king and declares his willingness to appear before the royal court to purge himself from any accusations of heresy.[48] To this letter Gałka attached a copy of his vernacular eulogy of Wycliffe, the first anticlerical poem in Polish medieval literature. It looks as if he did try to popularise anti-ecclesiastical teachings of the *Doctor evangelicus* among the leading Polish nobility by means of rhythmic songs he had composed.[49] Furthermore, it looks as if Gałka's secret studies of Wycliffe's writings were to some extent supported or even sponsored by nobles from the Cracow region. In his letter to bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki, written together with the aforementioned letter to the unknown nobleman, master Andrew of Dobczyn protests against the confiscation of books from his Cracow apartment. In addition, he threatens the bishop with the intervention of a powerful Czech nobleman who owned some of the confiscated books, among them three polemical and anti-ecclesiastical tracts written by John Wycliffe in his last years (*De apostasia*, *De blasphemia*, and *De simonia*).[50]

Gałka's expectations to popularise Wycliffe's teachings among the Polish nobles turned out to be misguided. So was his hope to find a noble protector. Strangely, his letter to the anonymous nobleman, together with the eulogy of Wycliffe, was intercepted by bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki of Cracow, who later used it to demonstrate Gałka's hostile intentions against the Church. In the letter Oleśnicki sent to Bishop Peter Nowak of Wrocław, a copy of Gałka's

[48] CDUC, 2, No. 159, pp. 115-116.

[49] A critical edition of Gałka's Eulogy of Wycliffe with an Old Polish transcript in *Chrestomatia staropolska: Teksty do roku 1543*, ed. W. WYDRA and R. RZEPKA, 2nd edn. (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1995), pp. 288-290; for an English translation see Andrzej Gałka of Dobczyn, *Song on Wyclif*, in: *Medieval Literature of Poland: An Anthology*, trans. M.J. MIKOŚ (New York and London, 1992: *Garland Library of Medieval Literature* 82*, Series B*), p. 143.

[50] CDUC, 2, No. 158, p. 112: "*Item inter libros Wicleph, quos cepistis, fuerunt quaedam volumina, scilicet de apostasia, blasphemia, simonia etc., cuiusdam notabilis nobilis Bohemi, qui postquam audierit, non silebit cum amicis*".

letter to the unknown nobleman was attached as evidence.[51] It is not clear under which circumstances Bishop Oleśnicki got hold of that letter. It is a tempting hypothesis to assume that the letter was given to him by the recipient himself.

In his letters, written after his escape from Cracow, Andrew of Dobczyn admitted that he had been busily reading and copying Wycliffe's writings for almost twenty years. He mentions by title five treatises of Wycliffe: *De universalibus*, *De ideis*, *De simonia*, *De blasphemia*, and *De apostasia*, and claims to have known the other treatises. His access to Wycliffite writings in Cracow looks a bit exaggerated. Nevertheless, Gałka was confident about his learning of Wycliffe's doctrine and declared his intention to defend it in any academic forum. In addition he argued that, despite official bans, Wycliffe's ideas were well known in Cracow, and many Poles could read his writings without difficulties.

In contrast to Wycliffe's sophisticated treatises, however, which were no easy reading and required some academic training in philosophy and theology, Hussite books should have been the first focus of interest for students who wanted to learn more about the Bohemian Reformation.[52]

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Outside Cracow access to Wycliffite or Hussite texts was limited, and the circulation of such works was strictly supervised by bishops and senior churchmen. Most information about suspicious writings, owned both by the clergy and the laity, is recorded in the fifteenth-century registers of the Polish bishops, who were responsible for protecting ecclesiastical doctrine and suppressing any religious dissent. Notes on suspicious books are usually very short and deprived of any substantial information about their authors or titles. With a few exceptions, the entries in these registers merely record an owner of suspicious books and general information about their character. It is surprising that the church authorities did not provide details – or at least it is not recorded which books were brought to their attention, and why they were considered suspicious. In the fifteenth-century legislation of Polish provincial or diocesan councils, the ownership of suspicious writings, along with the administration of the Eucharist under two species for the laity, remained a characteristic feature of

[51] Kras, "Wyclif's tradition", p. 194 and n. 19.
[52] CES XV, 1.2, p. 69; Kras, "Wyclif's tradition", pp. 202-203.

adherence to heresy. Polish bishops and their officials were particularly sensitive about the possible circulation of books published in Hussite Bohemia. In their opinion, Bohemian books were dangerous instruments of spreading errors and fomenting dissent. In the anti-Hussite regulations of the provincial council of Wieluń and Kalisz from 1420, it was strictly forbidden to keep any Czech books. Anyone who possessed suspicious writings was to report them immediately to a bishop. Furthermore, any suspect of heresy was to be interrogated about books he or she might possess. In order to prevent the transfer of Hussite writings to Poland, special commissions were established in each diocese to interrogate Poles returning from Bohemia.[53] In the instruction for diocesan visitation, produced after the provincial council of 1420, Hussite books were considered a dangerous instrument of heretical propaganda. Upon the visitations of parishes, church officials were required to search for and inspect any suspicious books, in particular the writings of John Wycliffe, Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague. The owners of such books were treated as suspects of heresy, arrested, and interrogated about their beliefs.[54]

It is worth noting that close attention was drawn to liturgical books which contained improper formulas with regard to the administration of sacraments. The problem was considered serious and urgent. In 1423 Bishop Wojciech Jastrzębiec of Cracow instructed his archdeacons to search for any suspected liturgical books in parish churches.[55] Seven years later, Jastrzębiec, now the archbishop of Gniezno, commissioned the control of liturgical books on the whole territory of the Gniezno province. Erroneous or improper fragments were to be corrected.[56]

Recent research has confirmed that the Hussite doctrine was disseminated in Poland mostly by means of sermons and oral instruction.[57] Hussite books only played a secondary role and did not become an instrument of large-scale

[53] *Statuty wieluńsko-kaliskie Mikołaja Trąby z 1420 roku*, ed. J. FIJAŁEK and A. VETULANI (Cracow, 1951), p. 96.

[54] "Instrukcja dla wizytatorów synodalnych", ed. B. ULANOWSKI, in: *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej* 6 (Cracow, 1889), p. 31; "*Ordo visitationis* z początku XV wieku", ed. S. LIBROWSKI, *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 8 (1964), pp. 201-202.

[55] *Statuta Alberti Jastrzebiec episcopi Cracoviensis*, in: *Statuta synodalia episcoporum cracoviensium XIV et XV saeculi e codicibus manu scriptis typis mandata*, ed. U. HEYZMANN (Cracow, 1875: *Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki* 4), p. 82.

[56] *Concilia Poloniae: Źródła i studia krytyczne* ed. J. SAWICKI , 1- (Cracow etc., 1945-), 10 (Wrocław, 1963), p. 127.

[57] See my overview of the problem in P. KRAS, "Hussites in fifteenth-century Poland", in: *Geist, Gesellschaft, Kirche im 13.-16. Jahrhundert*, pp. 177-189.

propaganda of new religious ideas. The episcopal registers, which remain the best source of information about heresy suspects, record a limited circulation of unlicensed books within the communities of the Polish Hussites.[58] A significant number of these Hussites had personal experience of the Bohemian Reformation. Some of them had travelled to Bohemia, spent some time among the Hussites, and acquired basic knowledge of the Hussite doctrine. In the period of the Hussite revolution (1419-1436) thousands of Poles visited Bohemia and got in touch with advocates of the Hussite programme. They had a chance to listen to Hussite preachers, talk to members of Hussite communities, and observe dramatic socio-religious transformations in the neighbouring country. Some Polish visitors were attracted by the programme of the Hussites and attended their religious ceremonies. Such visits left an indelible imprint upon the lives of Polish visitors. Upon return to Poland some of them started to spread Hussite doctrine and religious practice both in public and in private. The majority of Poles who were inspired by the Bohemian Hussites operated in Greater Poland and Cuyavia. Well-organised communities of Polish Hussites were established on noble lands and estates, and their functioning was possible as long as powerful landlords were able to protect them against inquisitorial prosecution.[59] Both in Greater Poland and in Cuyavia centres of Hussite communities were formed in small towns, in which the noble manor house and a parish church were located. Such centres were established by the Zbąski family in Zbąszyń and by the Kębłowski family in Kębłowo (Kiebłowo) in Greater Poland,[60] or by the Leszczyc family in Pakość in Cuyavia.[61] Some small groups of Utraquists were organised in the bigger royal towns, such as Inowrocław or Nieszawa in Cuyavia. But even there the protection and support of influential landlords and officials were crucial.

Access to books and their use was sporadic in those communities, and there is no evidence that Hussite writings played any major role in their activities. Bishops' registers record a number of priests who did have some suspicious books and used them in the liturgical service for the Utraquists. For example, in April 1442, the parish priest Chwałek of Szamotuły was summoned to appear before the Poznań consistory and present his missal, penitential and

[58] E. Potkowski, *Książka rękopiśmienna w kulturze polski średniowiecznej* (Warsaw, 1984), pp. 68-72.

[59] P. Kras, "Hussitism and the Polish nobility", in: *Lollardy and the gentry in the later Middle Ages*, ed. M. Aston and C. Richmond (Stroud and New York, 1997), pp. 183-198.

[60] Kras, *Husyci*, pp. 116-129.

[61] *Ibid*., pp. 141-147; Szweda and Szweda, "Z dziejów husytyzmu", pp. 43-46.

collections of sermons.[62] Nothing is known about his direct involvement in the activities of any Hussite communities. But he came from an area notorious for Hussite heresy, which at the time was intensively inspected by the bishop of Poznań. Two years earlier, vicar Nicholas from Niepruszewo was reported to have argued that any layman who lived an exemplary life might consecrate the Eucharist and ordain priests. The investigation into that case revealed that Nicholas had found this opinion in a certain sacramentary, originating probably from Hussite Bohemia.[63] It looks as if some parish priests got hold of heretical books, which they used to administer the sacraments and to give instructions for parishioners. The church authorities carefully examined any information related to suspicious books owned by the clergy.

Most suspicious writings reported to church officials continued to come from Bohemia. They were brought either by Poles returning from Bohemia or by Czechs visiting Poland as Hussite preachers or just as merchants. Some Polish advocates of the Hussite doctrine had strong links with Bohemia, which were not interrupted by wars and bans on travel. They travelled to Bohemia and even sent their children to study in Prague. Such close contacts were reported in particular for some Cuyavian families. In 1450 Jan Elgot, the Cracow vicar general, received a detailed confession from an unnamed Cracow student of the Dobrzyń region in Cyuavia, who complained about the dissemination of heresy in his native region.[64] The activity of Bohemian preachers in Poland is confirmed by various sources; their role in distributing Hussite books, however, is completely ignored.[65]

As has been mentioned already, titles and contents of books considered suspicious and confiscated by the Polish clergy from Hussites remained unknown in most of the reported cases. It may be assumed that among Hussite books imported from Bohemia were Czech translations of the Bible, sermons, songs, poems and pamphlets. In the 1450s and 1460s such books probably circulated within Hussite communities in Cuyavia. In the town of Pakość, located at the border between Cuyavia and Greater Poland, some Czechs worked on the Polish translation of the Bible commissioned by the queen dowager

[62] AC, 2, No. 1137, p. 531.

[63] AC, 2, No. 1107, p. 521; further comments on both cases in KRAS, *Husyci*, p. 86.

[64] CES XV, 2, "Dodatek: Rzeczy kościelne", No. 4, pp. 347-348; see also KRAS, *Husyci*, pp. 135-136.

[65] In the early 1430s two Bohemian preachers were arrested by King Władysław Jagiełło and kept in the Chęciny prison. In a letter to an unnamed papal inquisitor the King reported on their activities, without mentioning in any way their use of books. CES XV, 1, pp. 148-149.

Sophia of Holszany. There is, however, no direct evidence to associate that translation with any Cuyavian groups of Hussites. The community of Pakość is of particular interest here, as it remains one of the best examples of lay literacy in fifteenth-century Poland. Pakość was a small but fast-growing town, favourably located at the crossroads of two international trade routes. In the first half of the fifteenth century the town became an important regional market place and profited from the busy trade, which connected Bohemia and Germany with the Teutonic State in Prussia and Lithuania.[66] Pakość merchants travelled with agricultural products south to Silesia and to other regions of Bohemia on a regular basis; Bohemian merchants came to Pakość on their way to Toruń or Gdańsk. The exchange of merchandise and the business contacts between Pakość burghers and their Bohemian counterparts gave opportunities for the easy spread of religious ideas.

In the 1430s some burghers of Pakość adhered to the Hussite ideas and started receiving Communion under two species. The group recruited members from the well–to-do families, including the wife of the town owner. In April 1441, Anna, the wife of Materna Leszczyc, the owner of Pakość, and three other women from the town were interrogated by Archbishop Wincenty Kot of Gniezno and confessed that they had received the Eucharist under two species from the local parish priest.[67] Two decades later, the trial of parish vicar Stanisław in the Gniezno consistory shed more light on the activity of the Hussite community in Pakość. Like the Utraquist groups in Greater Poland, the Pakość group of Hussites came into being and functioned thanks to the support of the local landlord's family. Among the adherents of the Utraquist practice there were members of the town council, including the mayor of the town. These groups of Hussites probably secured the appointment of Stanisław to the position of vicar in Pakość in 1450. Soon after his arrival to the town Stanisław became the leader of the Utraquists there. His life and career are rather obscure. In the early 1440s he may have studied at Cracow, but he left the university without a degree. Before his appointment to the parish church of Pakość, he spent some time in Bohemia, where he was impressed by Hussite doctrine and practice. During his visit to Bohemia, Stanisław started to collect Hussite books for his private library. After he had settled in Pakość he continued to

[66] R. Kabaciński, "W czasach staropolskich do roku 1772", in: *Dzieje Pakości*, ed. W. Jastrzębski (Warsaw and Poznań, 1978), pp. 75-89.

[67] AC, 2, No. 383, p. 132; Kras, *Husyci*, pp. 143-144.

acquire new writings.[68] The testimonies of witnesses during his 1455 trial unanimously confirmed that he was a man of great learning and interest in book studies. In his collection of books he had Latin, Polish and Czech writings. Some of these were bilingual Latin-Polish or Czech-Polish texts. For example, he possessed fragments of the Gospels in the Polish vernacular, as well as a vernacular copy of the Gospels and the Apostolic Letters.[69] In addition, in his collection of Polish religious books Stanisław had two unidentified writings: one started with the words "*Panye Boże*" ("Lord God") and the other with "*Poczantek to ma*" ("The beginning is the following"). The particular attention of the visitors who had access to Stanisław's library was drawn by a book with images (*liber cum picturis*), which may be identified either with an illuminated Bible or rather with a genre of popular religious readings produced in Hussite Bohemia.[70] The interrogations preserved in the Gniezno register even provide information about the looks of Stanisław's books. Some of them had precious covers made of leather, like the Polish translation of the Gospels mentioned above.

Surprisingly, Stanisław was the owner of bilingual works, which he either produced himself or obtained from someone else. It may be assumed that as a rector of the local parish school he used such books for grammar classes. This is confirmed by the testimony of two witnesses who claimed that they had been taught to read Polish and Czech texts at school. Apart from teaching a standard programme, the parish school in Pakość became a place where books were copied and translated into the Polish vernacular. Among the translators a certain Albert, the doorkeeper of Stanisław's house, was named. Stanisław of Pakość had great confidence in Albert, who had a key to the room with books and could use it at any time. It was also reported that Stanisław was visited in Pakość by some strangers. One of them was named as "*scolaris de Bohemia*", who spent rather a long time in Stanisław's house. The purpose of his visit remains unknown, but his participation in Czech-Polish translations may have been natural.[71]

Analysing all this information some questions need to be asked. It might be interesting to learn more about the purpose of such a book business as was run

[68] KRAS, *Husyci*, pp. 88-90.

[69] POTKOWSKI, *Książka rękopiśmienna*, pp. 215-216; J. WIESIOŁOWSKI, "O możnowładczych protektorach husytyzmu słów kilka", in: *Polskie echa husytyzmu w Polsce*, ed. S. BYLINA and R. GŁADKIEWICZ (Warsaw, 1999), pp. 84-85.

[70] AC, 2, No. 524, p. 199.

[71] *Ibid*., pp. 199-200.

by Stanisław in Pakość. Did his interest in collecting, copying and translating originate only from his individual literary passion or was there more behind it? One may wonder why Stanisław needed writings in Czech and Polish. Did he use vernacular books for his pastoral duties or did he distribute them among the inhabitants of Pakość? The available evidence remains ambiguous. During his interrogation at the ecclesiastical court Stanisław denied that he had ever taught anyone to read Polish or Bohemian writings.[72] Some testimonies, however, put that statement in doubt. One of the witnesses claimed that Stanisław had been very proud of his collection and readily presented it to his parishioners. Another acknowledged that on various occasions they had access to his library and got hold of his books. Furthermore, some books from Stanisław's collection circulated outside his library and were kept in various private houses.[73]

The burghers of Pakość knew about Stanisław's passion for books and assisted him in acquiring new texts for his library. It looks as if the international trade in Pakość facilitated the transfer of books from Bohemia. Some of them were offered for sale at annual fairs. The others were ordered and purchased in secret. One of the Pakość burghers, Małgorzata Mieleńska, kept some of Stanisław's books in her house. In 1454 she supplied him with five new books, probably on his own order. However, Stanisław purchased only two books and returned the remaining three to Mieleńska, as he found them suitable for women only.[74]

A rich collection of books, personal contacts with Czechs, and his university learning made Stanisław of Pakość a man of prominence not only in Pakość, but in the whole region of Cuyavia. Recently, some scholars have argued that the vernacular Gospels owned by Stanisław were part of a major translation of the Bible into the Polish vernacular. The initiative to produce a first complete translation of the Bible into the Polish vernacular was commissioned by Queen Zofia of Holszany, the fourth wife of King Władysław Jagiełło. Work was carried out on the royal estates in Cuyavia, not far away from Pakość, where the queen had her dowry. Members of her court, including her private notary, were directly involved in the production of the first Polish translation of the Bible. To the present day only a fragment of that work, containing

[72] AC, 2, No. 524, p. 200: "*interrogatus an docuisset aliquem virum vel mulierem lecturam vulgarem aut Bohemicalem, respondit quod non*".

[73] KRAS, *Husyci*, pp. 90-91.

[74] AC, 2, No. 524, p. 198.

the first books of the Old Testament, survives; it is known as the Bible of Szaroszpatak. The history of that manuscript provides evidence that in the 1450s Pakość was the place where the translation of the Bible was produced. There is no evidence of Stanisław of Pakość's direct involvement in that venture, but it is hard to deny completely his participation in that pioneering enterprise. The fragments of the vernacular Gospel may have been either an integral part of the translation executed under the auspices of Queen Zofia, or they may have originated as part of that major work of translation.[75]

The circulation of the vernacular Bible recorded in the heresy trial of Stanisław of Pakość seems to be of a particular interest for the study of urban literacy. Stanisław's copy of the Polish Bible gained some popularity among the Utraquists in Cuyavia. One of them, Agnieszka Janowska, daughter of the local landlord Materna Leszczyc and wife of Wojciech, castellan of Śrem and co-owner of Pakość, tried to purchase the copy from Stanisław. She belonged to a group of noble patrons of the Cuyavian Utraquists, who protected Hussite priests and secured the administration of the Eucharist under both species for the laity. It may be argued that Agnieszka Janowska represented a new model of female piety and promoted a more individual attitude to religious practices, and in particular to the Eucharist. Her attempt to buy the vernacular Bible failed, because she found the price of sixty Prague groschen too high to pay.[76] It is hard to determine why she was so interested in acquiring that book, whether she had any reading skills and needed the vernacular Bible for herself or, what is more convincing, that she was planning to purchase the Bible for the Utraquist community she sponsored and protected.

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It is worth stressing that most details on Stanisław's books were provided in court by the local clergy: parish priests, vicars and altarists from Pakość and the neighbouring area. It looks as if only they had a sufficient level of literacy to read books and identify them by title or incipit. But this should not necessarily reflect the poor literacy of the entire urban population of Pakość, or even of the group of local Utraquists. Reports on suspicious books make it clear that they circulated predominantly among the parish clergy, who had some interest

[75] KRAS, *Husyci*, pp. 90-92; WIESIOŁOWSKI, "O możnowładczych protektorach", pp. 85-86.
[76] AC, 3, No. 515, p. 234.

in the programme of the Bohemian Reformation. There are dozens of cases recorded in the fifteenth-century registers from the Gniezno province regarding parish priests or vicars who were charged with the possession of suspicious books. Most of those books came from Bohemia, either purchased by their owners during their visits among Czech Hussites, or acquired in Poland. Sometimes they were later copied and further distributed mostly among other priests. The inquisitorial operations conducted in 1450-1455 by Sędziwój of Czechło, the Gniezno vicar general *in spiritualibus*, revealed that a couple of parish priests had heretical writings in their collections.[77] In July 1455, for instance, Sędziwój of Czechło examined the circulation of a book entitled *Libellus articulos erroneos in se continens*. The book was produced in Bohemia and it had at least four different owners, both laymen and priests, before it was inspected by the Gniezno vicar general. Its first owner was Nicholas, mayor of Sarp. In the Gniezno register it is reported that he gave the *Libellus* to a certain widow from Popowo, identified as the wife of Dobrogost, who tried to sell it to Stanisław, the parish priest of Budziszewo. When the latter could not pay the price due, he assisted in finding another buyer. At the annual trade fair held on the feast of St. Bartholomew (24 August 1454) the book was successfully sold to acolyte Nicholas of Łobżenica.[78] The investigations conducted by Sędziwój of Czechło also traced the circulation of other suspicious texts among the lay inhabitants of various small towns in the archdiocese of Gniezno. The most interesting information on a lay collection of books is that of Jan of Bolimów, burgher of a small town in Masovia. In April 1450 vicar Bernard of Brzeziny, interrogated by Sędziwój of Czechło, revealed that the aforementioned Jan was the owner of a big collection of writings. In the eyes of his neighbours such a big library owned by the layman looked odd and suspicious. Because of this Jan was even called a "great heretic" ("*magnus hereticus*"). Bernard borrowed one of Jan's books to make a copy for himself.[79] Unfortunately, nothing is recorded about book tittles or the character of this private collection. Despite the fragmentary evidence, Jan's passion for books provides an unique example of urban literacy, reaching high levels of sophistication.

In general, the fifteenth-century ecclesiastical registers rarely record lay people who had access to suspicious or forbidden books. If such writings were

[77] "Gnesner Hussitenverhöre 1450-1452", ed. A. KUNKEL, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 38 (1920), pp. 314-325.

[78] AC, 2, No. 521, pp. 192-193; for further analysis see KRAS, *Husyci*, p. 92-93.

[79] "Gnesner Hussitenverhöre", No. 1, p. 317.

reported to the ecclesiastical authorities and duly caused inquisitorial investigation, their owners belonged mostly to the clergy. Hussite writings produced in Bohemia were used by Polish priests, who were the most zealous members of the Utraquist communities. Some of them preached new religious ideas and administered the Eucharist to the laity under two species after they had studied Hussite writings. Sometimes books of Bohemian origin served as instruments for Hussite preaching.[80] Such books were used, for example, by Nicholas of Gniezno and Jan, rector of parish school from Zbąszyń, who in 1438-1439 set out on a preaching mission in the western parts of Greater Poland. In February 1439 they were captured at the inn of Chrustowo, while they were explaining Scripture to lay people. The records of their trial reveal that during their preaching campaign they used a Czech book, which unfortunately is not identified.[81] It is tempting to guess that they owned a copy of the vernacular Bible or a collection of Hussite sermons. Obviously these two clergymen had reading skills and appreciated the use of books in spreading religious novelties among mainly illiterate people. In the records of heresy proceedings against the Utraquists from the Zbąszyń area, information on heretical writings is very rare. Apart from the Hussite priests who preached Hussite ideas and administered the Eucharist under two species to the laity, only Mikołaj Grunberg, mayor of Zbąszyń, was reported to have some books. This alerted the bishop of Poznań and his senior officials. In June 1453, almost fourteen years after the suppression the Hussites of Zbąszyń, he was summoned to appear before the ecclesiastical court with his books.[82] At that time Grunberg was lucky to purge himself of heresy and avoid any penalties. But a few years later he was accused of heresy once again, and that time he was sentenced to death, probably as a relapsed heretic.[83]

[80] POTKOWSKI, *Książka rękopiśmienna*, pp. 71-72.

[81] J. NOWACKI, "Biskup poznański Andrzej Bniński w walce z husytami ze Zbąszynia. Nieznane karty procesów husyckich roku 1439", *Roczniki Historyczne* 10 (1934), pp. 245-278, at p. 268; further analysis in KRAS, *Husyci*, pp. 63-64.

[82] AC, 2, No. 1253, p. 569; see also KRAS, *Husyci*, p. 88.

[83] The circumstances of his final trial and condemnation are unknown. On 3 October 1470 the daughter of Mikołaj's brother applied for the annulment of her marriage and incidentally mentioned him as burnt for heresy. It is worth mentioning that Mikołaj Grunberg is one of two laymen who were burnt for heresy in fifteenth-century Poland (AC, 2, No. 1330, p. 596). The other is Mikołaj, mayor of Nieszawa, who was sentenced to death during the heresy trial of the Cuyavian Utraquists in 1480. A thorough examination in KRAS, *Husyci*, pp. 306-307 (for Mikołaj Grunberg of Zbąszyń) and p. 301 (for Mikołaj of Nieszawa).

It looks as if, apart from the region of Zbąszyń and Kębłowo, where the activities of Utraquist groups provoked inquisitorial operations by the bishop of Poznań, other areas of the Poznań diocese did not undergo a wide-scale search for suspicious books. Any such search reported in the ecclesiastical registers was conducted on an individual basis, after the presence of suspicious writings had been reported to the bishop or his officials. Notes on such judicial operations were recorded in the ecclesiastical registers, and the books under inspection were usually termed suspicious or heretical. For example, in 1446 the deputy judge of Poznań bishop was informed about a Poznań burgher by the name of Jan Kliza, who was denounced as the owner of some suspicious books. Jan was immediately summoned to appear before the Poznań consistory with all his books.[84] Heretical books of Bohemian origin circulated also among the Utraquists in Cuyavia and in the Dobrzyń region. The available registers for the dioceses of Włocławek and Płock record a number of entries related to heresy suspects, who owned or distributed writings termed as heretical or suspicious.[85]

The circulation of suspicious religious books in fifteenth-century Poland is confirmed by a number of writings confiscated during parish visitations and heresy investigations. Some of those books were later offered to church institutions (cathedral chapters, monasteries) and recorded in the catalogues of their libraries.[86] For example, the fifteenth-century catalogue of the cathedral chapter of Gniezno recorded a book entitled *Libellus suspectus hereticorum*, which had been confiscated in unknown circumstances.[87] Similar writings termed heretical were handed over by Szymon of Sącz to the archdeacon of Przemyśl, Michał of Kleparz, who later became abbot of the Benedictines of Łysa Góra.[88]

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The fifteenth-century sources demonstrate that the clergy dominated among Poles who took an active part in the circulation of "suspicious or forbidden" books. Parish priests, vicars, altarists and ordained students had the neces-

[84] AC, 2, No. 1212, pp. 555-556.

[85] KRAS, *Husyci*, pp. 93-94.

[86] POTKOWSKI, *Książka rękopiśmienna*, pp. 211-212.

[87] AC, 1, No. 1852, p. 417; see also POTKOWSKI, *Książka rękopiśmienna*, p. 52.

[88] M. HORNOWSKA and Z. ZDZITOWIECKA-JASIEŃSKA, *Zbiory rękopiśmienne w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Warsaw, 1947), p. 364.

sary abilities to read, copy and exchange books. Some of them acquired and read texts produced by the Hussites to learn more about the religious programme of the Bohemian Reformation. The others used them to popularise Hussite ideas among the laity. The fifteenth-century registers from the Gniezno province record only a few lay people who, like Jan of Bolimów or Mikołaj Grunberg of Zbąszyń, collected books and read them. As has been already stressed, the lay members of Hussite communities in Polish towns had occasional contact with *libri suspecti,* but most of them did not read those books – at least nothing is reported about it in the available sources. They acted rather as passive agents in the circulation of books among literate clergymen, assisting in their purchase and exchange, or keeping them in their houses.[89] Jan of Bolimów and Mikołaj Grunberg remain unique examples of literate laymen who busily collected and studied books to learn more and to inform other laymen about religious novelties. It is worth noting that they belonged to the upper classes of urban society. The former was a local entrepreneur, who for a long time acted as mayor of the private town of Zbąszyń in Greater Poland. The latter was probably a student of Cracow University, and later a councillor of a small town in Masovia.

Recent studies have presented a slow but steady growth of literacy in Polish towns, in particular in the second half of the fifteenth century. Ever more sons of burghers obtained a school education in the parish schools, which doubled in number between the beginning of the fourteenth and the beginning of sixteenth century. By the end of the fifteenth century, parish schools were operating in about ninety percent of Polish towns.[90] Ever more burghers, representing a variety of social groups, studied at the University of Cracow. Of course, the biggest numbers came from the biggest towns, such as Cracow, Poznań, or Sandomierz, but even small towns in Cuyavia and Masovia sent several students to Cracow. The growth of urban literacy in fifteenth-century Poland enabled townspeople to take part in the mainstream of intellectual developments. Ever more burghers had access to the written word. This trend is well illustrated by the emergence of the first literary societies in bigger and smaller Polish towns by the middle of the fifteenth century (for example in

[89] KRAS, *Husyci*, pp. 93-94.

[90] E. WIŚNIOWSKI, *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce: Struktura i funkcje społeczne* (Lublin, 2004: *Dzieje chrześcijaństwa Polski i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów* 2), pp. 279-308, at pp. 306-307; ID., "The parochial school system in Poland towards the close of the Middle Ages", *Acta Poloniae Historica* 27 (1973), pp. 29-44.

Koprzywnica, Płock, and Nowy Sącz).[91] Apart from the impact of the Hussite doctrine, the growing interest in the Bible in urban society is recorded elsewhere as well. This new trend is reflected by Jan Żołądek, tailor of Łomża, who publicly challenged his parish priest, claiming that he knew the Bible better than the priest. And what is more interesting, he was able to prove it. He demonstrated that the parish priest was ignorant about the evangelical description of Christ's Resurrection, confused the twelve Apostles with the disciples, and could not correctly name the Apostles.[92]

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To conclude: a thorough examination of the production and circulation of *libri suspecti* in fifteenth-century Poland provides a new dimension to the study of literacy and its relation to the growth of religious dissent. There is no doubt that a number of religious books came from Bohemia in the period of the Hussite revolution and afterwards. The scale of these imports is hard to assess, due to the fragmentary and biassed documentation. Hussite writings were read and copied in Cracow and in other Polish towns by men who had some interest in the ideas of the Bohemian Reformation, but they did not become the instrument of wider Hussite propaganda. Such books circulated mostly among the clergy of different ranks and positions, who had adequate literate skills to make use of them.

It looks as if the intensive and fruitful research on the impact of the Hussite movement in Poland has reached a phase which requires a re-examination and a fresh methodological reflection. Dynamic studies on medieval literacy and written culture have offered new categories, concepts and methods, which should be applied to a new study of the circulation of books in medieval society treated as a whole.[93] First of all, new research results might be achieved by

[91] H. SAMSONOWICZ, "Środowiska społeczne piszące w Polsce u schyłku średniowiecza", in: *Pogranicza i konteksty literatury polskiego średniowiecza*, ed. T. MICHAŁOWSKA (Wrocław, 1989), pp. 97-108.

[92] AC, 3, Nos. 16, 17, 18, p.7. See comments by H. SAMSONOWICZ, *Dziedzictwo średniowiecza* (Wrocław, 1991) p. 130; E. POTKOWSKI, "Książka w społeczeństwie polskim u schyłku średniowiecza", *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 26.1-2 (1982), pp. 1-8, at p. 8.

[93] The studies of E. POTKOWSKI have brought a number of interesting findings related to the development of written culture and social communication in late medieval Poland. In his study on the handwritten book (*Książka rękopiśmienna*, *passim*) and in a number of articles (recently reedited in a single collection as *Książka i pismo w średniowieczu: Studia z dziejów kultury*

separating the study of the dissemination of Hussite ideas from that of the circulation of 'suspicious' or 'unlicensed' books. As has been noted, *libri suspecti* recorded in the ecclesiastical registers are a technical term; it was used by bishops and inquisitors to record any writings of unknown origins or unlicensed use.[94] In the eyes of the clergy every book owned by a layman looked suspicious, whether it was produced in Hussite Bohemia, contained heretical opinions, or was just a prayer book. The application of new research methods should enable us to treat 'suspicious books' as independent objects for studies on medieval literacy.[95] A study of the production and circulation of such books, analysed outside the context of the heresy paradigm, promises to bring new results and will serve to demonstrate the impact of literacy on various social levels.

*piśmiennej i komunikacji społecznej* (Pułtusk, 2006)) he has analysed the scale of book production and circulation within different groups of the Polish medieval society.

[94] See also some interesting remarks and research findings on the circulation of religious books in late medieval France by G. HASENOHR, "Religious reading amongst the laity in France in the fifteenth century", in: *Heresy and literacy*, pp. 204-221, in particular pp. 204-205.

[95] New categories and research methods are offered by the studies on medieval communication, its forms and functions, conducted by M. Mostert and the international team of scholars publishing their research in the series *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*. See, e.g. M. MOSTERT, "New approaches to medieval communication?", in: *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. M. MOSTERT (Turnhout 1999: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 1), pp. 17-34. New proposals related to the studies of literacy and communication in medieval Poland have been recently presented by J. Kaliszuk, A. Adamska, and T. Jurek: J. KALISZUK, "Przemiany społecznych funkcji pisma w późnym średniowieczu: Programy badawcze i rezultaty", in: *Historia społeczna późnego średniowiecza: Nowe badania*, ed. S. GAWLAS (Warsaw, 2011), pp.169-188; A. ADAMSKA, "Czy potrzebna nam jest społeczna historia języka?", *ibid.*, pp. 189-202; T. JUREK, "Pismo w życiu społecznym Polski późnego średniowiecza", *ibid*., pp. 203-232.

# The Problem of Origins in Early Communal Historiography: Pisa, Genoa and Milan Compared*

MICHELE CAMPOPIANO

The blossoming of social and economic life in northern and central Italian cities from the eleventh century onwards led to the development of an historical culture, and a tradition of history writing, emerging from the self-consciousness of the urban elite. The idea of the city as a collective body was reflected in the urban historiography: the city itself became an object of historiography, and its past the focus of chronicles and literary works.[1] In the

* This article reproduces the text of my intervention in the session *Medieval Urban Literacy, VII: Urban Identity and Writing about the Past* in the *International Medieval Congress* (Leeds 2009, July 15). I would like to thank Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska for the opportunity to discuss these topics on this important occasion.

[1] See G. ARNALDI, *Studi sui cronisti della Marca Trevigiana nell'étá di Ezzelino da Romano* (Rome, 1963); ID., *Il notaio cronista e le cronache cittadine in Italia*, in: *La storia del diritto nel quadro delle scienze storiche* (Florence, 1966), pp. 293-309; Ch. WICKHAM, "The sense of the past in Italian communal narratives", in: ID., *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400-1200* (London, 1994), pp. 295-312 (earlier published in: *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth Century Europe*, ed. P. MAGDALINO (London, 1992), pp. 173-189); *Il senso della storia nella cultura medievale italiana (1100-1350), Pistoia, 14-17, maggio 1993* (Pistoia, 1995); G. ARNALDI, "Cronache con documenti, cronache 'autentiche' e pubblica storiografia", in: *Le scritture del comune: Amministrazione e memoria delle città dei secoli XII*

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 227-250.

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same period, communal institutions were also slowly taking shape, emerging from the pre-communal forms of organisation, giving the Italian cities a new political structure that strengthened their autonomy and their self-government capabilities.[2] This process varied from city to city, and this variety in political evolution was itself reflected in differences in historical consciousness among the various urban communities.

This short contribution will focus on a specific aspect of the historical culture of the Italian cities in eleventh and twelfth centuries: myths of foundation. These myths play an important role in defining the self-consciousness of collective communities: they root the origin of the community in an ancient, immemorial past, linking its birth to the exceptional deeds of a hero or of a population. I believe myths of foundation also played a major role in shaping the sense of the past among Italian urban elites, and I will provide a few examples of how that happened. Myths of foundation were usually developed by particular social groups within the city elite. The investigation of the process of development and diffusion of these foundation myths should therefore be connected with the analysis of the role that these social groups played in urban life.[3]

*e XIII*, ed. G. ALBINI (Turin, 1998), pp. 121-140; M. ZABBIA, "Il contributo dei notai alla codificazione della memoria storica nelle città italiane (secoli XII-XIV)", *Nuova Rivista Storica* 82.1 (1998), pp. 1-16.

[2] For a general synthesis, see: G. TABACCO, *Egemonie sociali e strutture del potere nel Medioevo italiano* (Turin, 1979), trans. *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy : Structures of Political Rule* (Cambridge, 1989); Ph. JONES, *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 103-151. See also, for their importance in the historiographical debate: G. VOLPE, "Questioni fondamentali sull'origine e primo svolgimento dei comuni italiani", in: ID., *Medio Evo Italiano* (Florence, 1961), pp. 85-118; *L'evoluzione delle città italiane nell'XI secolo*, ed. R. BORDONE and J. JARNUT (Bologna, 1988); R. BORDONE, "La storiografia recente sui comuni italiani delle origini", in: *Die Frühgeschichte der Europäischen Stadt im 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. J. JARNUT and P. JOHANEK (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 1998), pp. 45-61; E. COLEMAN, "The Italian communes: Recent work and current trends", *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1999), pp. 373-397; ID., "Representative assemblies in communal Italy", in: *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P.S. BARNWELL and M.MOSTERT (Turnhout, 2003: *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 7), pp. 193-210; *La civiltà comunale italiana nella storiografia internazionale*, ed. A. ZORZI (Florence, 2008). Further bibliography will be quoted in the rest of the paper.

[3] N. RUBINSTEIN, "The beginnings of political thought in Florence: A study in medieval historiography", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), pp. 188-227; WICKHAM, "The sense of the past", pp. 300-1; R. BORDONE, "Il passato storico come tempo mitico nel mondo cittadino italiano del medioevo", in: ID., *Uno stato d'animo: Memoria del tempo e comportamenti urbani nel mondo comunale italiano* (Firenze, 2002), pp. 36-58 (reprint from *Società e storia* 51 (1991), pp. 1-22).

I will focus on one main example, Pisa. Pisa is one of the earliest examples of the development of a complex historical culture in an early Italian commune, mainly due to the activity of its clergy.[4] I will compare this case with that of Genoa and Milan. A comparison with Genoa is necessary because already in the mid-twelfth century Genoa had developed 'official' version of its past: the *Annales Ianuenses*, from the pen of a layman, Caffaro.[5] Milan, one of the most important cities in Northern Italy, was also remarkable for a tradition of history writing among its elite in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[6] The distinct political contexts of these cities provided different backgrounds for history writing, with varying results for the development and diffusion of a myth of foundation of their urban communities.

## *Historiography and Urban Clergy in Pisa (Eleventh to Twelfth Centuries)*

Pisan historiographical production is characterised by its variety of genres, including epic poems, annals, universal chronicles and epigraphs.[7] These works often commemorate the military victories of the Pisans, especially against the Muslims. For example, epigraphs, some of them written on the facade of the cathedral, celebrate the accomplishments of the Pisan people. These epigraphs exalt the unity of the urban community in military expeditions. The epigraph relating the victorious expedition against the Arabs in Palermo in 1064, for instance, claims that every layer of Pisan society participated in the expedition:

[4] C.B. Fisher, "The Pisan clergy and an awakening of historical interest in a medieval commune", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3 (1966), pp. 143-219; G. Scalia, "Annalistica e poesia epico-storica pisana nel secolo xii", in: *Il senso della storia*, pp. 105-124; M. von der Höh, *Erinnerungskultur und frühe Kommune: Formen und Funktionen des Umgangs mit der Vergangenheit im hochmittelalterlichen Pisa 1050-1150* (Berlin, 2006).

[5] Ed. as: *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, ed. L.T. Belgrano *et al.*, 5 vols. (Rome, 1890-1929: *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 11-13, 14.1-2), 1, pp. 3-75.

[6] J.W. Busch, *Die Mailänder Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Arnulf und Galvaneus Flamma: Die Beschäftigung mit der Vergangenheit im Umfeld einer oberitalienischen Kommune vom späten 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1997), pp. 38-69.

[7] For general outline, see Fisher, "The Pisan clergy"; Scalia, "Annalistica e poesia"; Von der Höh, *Erinnerungskultur*; *Gesta triumphalia per Pisanos facta*, ed. G. Scalia (Florence, 2010: *Edizione Nationale dei Testi Mediolatini* 24).

"*Omnes maiores medii pariterque minores*" ("all the grandees, the middle and the minor people").[8]

The fact that some of these epigraphs have been engraved on the facade of the cathedral reminds us of the importance of the Pisan clergy in the awakening historical interest in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[9] The cathedral itself was established with the plunder from the Pisan anti-Muslim expedition against Palermo: it was therefore a symbol of the exploits that the urban elite had achieved through its unity. We find on the facade of the cathedral an inscription, probably engraved shortly after the death of the Pisan bishop Guido in 1076, that celebrates how this majestic building has been built by its own "citizens" ("*civibus ... suis*").[10]

The city clergy (I refer in particular to the bishop and the chapter of the cathedral) contributed to shaping the self-consciousness of the urban elite with their monuments – both 'architectural' and 'literary'. This also occurred because the political role of the clergy in this period was crucial in city 'politics'. The bishops and the clergy of the cathedral played a central role in shaping the political institutions of the city.[11] An important step towards the creation of a common and stable administration of the city was the famous *Towers' Judgment* (*Lodo delle Torri*) of bishop Daibertus, from around 1090. By setting a limit to the height of the towers of the aristocracy, the bishop aimed to reduce internal conflicts in the city. The judgment also limited internal use of force to

[8] G. SCALIA, "Epigraphica Pisana-testi latini sulla spedizione contro le Baleari del 1113-1115 e su altre imprese anti-saracene del sec. XI", *Miscellanea di studi ispanici* 6 (Pisa, 1963), pp. 234-286, at pp. 263-264; O. BANTI, *Monumenta epigraphica pisana saeculi XV antiquiora* (Pisa, 2000), pp. 47-48. An initial facade was built between the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. The second facade took shape during the twelfth century; A. MILONE, "Il Duomo e la sua facciata", in: *Il Duomo di Pisa*, ed. A. PERONI, 3 vols. (Modena, 1995), 1, pp. 191-206.

[9] SCALIA, "Epigraphica Pisana-testi latini"; M. SEIDEL, "Dombau, Kreuzzugsidee und Expansionspolitik: Zur Ikonographie der Pisaner Kathedralbauten", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 11 (1977), pp. 340-369, at pp. 342-343; G. SCALIA, "Tre iscrizioni e una facciata: Ancora sulla cattedrale di Pisa", *Studi Medievali* 3a s. 23 (1982), pp. 817-859.

[10] *"Quam bene, quam pulchre procul haud est edes ab urbe, / que constructa fuit civibus ecce suis,/ tempore Widonis Papiensis presulis huius / qui regi fama est notus et ipsi pape*" (BANTI, *Monumenta*, p. 43-44). See also M. RONZANI, "La formazione della Piazza del Duomo di Pisa", in: *La Piazza del Duomo nella città medievale (nord e media Italia, secoli XII-XVI): Atti della Giornata di Studio, Orvieto, 4 giugno 1994*, ed. L. RICCETTI (Orvieto, 1997), pp. 19-134; VON DER HÖH, *Erinnerungskultur*, pp. 267-281 and pp. 329-335.

[11] For a general outline, see: M. RONZANI, *Chiesa e "Civitas" di Pisa nella seconda metà del secolo XI: Dall'avvento del vescovo Guido all'elavazione di Daiberto a metropolita di Corsica (1060-1092*) (Pisa, 1997).

the unanimous decision of the city or to a choice of the majority of its magnates.[12] Daibertus was very close to the Holy See. He contributed to the binding of the Tyrrhenian city to the causes of the papacy and under his leadership the Pisans achieved important successes. Rome made him archbishop of Corsica on 22 April 1092, thus extending the influence of Pisa on that Tyrrhenian island.[13] Daibertus also led the Pisan expedition for the First Crusade (probably in the autumn of 1098), and on Christmas day 1099 was elected patriarch of Jerusalem, after the occupation of the Holy City by the Crusaders.[14]

The deeds of Daibertus show how the Pisan Church played a major role in the development of civic peace within the city and in establishing a common leadership in the military expeditions, especially against Saracens. Among the Pisan clergy could also be found the 'intellectuals' who contributed to shape the collective memory of the urban community by erecting monuments, in words and in stone (poems, chronicles, churches, epigraphs, etc.), that celebrated these events. I refer to the concept of 'collective memory' as elaborated in the works of Maurice Halbwachs: the memories cannot be separated from the social cadres in which they were formed, and by the systems of signs and conventions shared by social groups defined in determined conditions of time and space.[15] Memory reveals itself to be a social and historical construction by determined social groups that contributes to shape the self-consciousness of these groups themselves.

One of the most important steps in the development of a collective memory among the Pisan urban elite was the expedition against the Tunisian city of al-

[12] G. Rossetti, "Il lodo del vescovo Daiberto sull'altezza delle torri: prima carta costituzionale della repubblica pisana", in: *Pisa e la Toscana occidentale nel Medioevo: a Cinzio Violante nei suoi 70 anni*, 2 vols. (Pisa, 1991: *Piccola Biblioteca GISEM* 1-2), 2, pp. 25-48.

[13] M. Ronzani, "Eredità di Gregorio VII e apporto originale di Urbano II nel privilegio apostolico del 22 aprile 1092", in: *Nel IX centenario della metropoli ecclesiastica di Pisa: Atti del Convegno di Studi (7-8 maggio 1992)*, ed. M.L. Ceccarelli Lemut and S. Sodi (Pisa, 1995), pp. 59-80; M. Matzke, *Daiberto di Pisa: Tra Pisa, Papato e prima crociata* (Pisa, 2002), pp. 34-41 (tranbslation of *Daibert von Pisa: Zwischen Pisa, Papst und erstem Kreuzzug* (Sigmaringen, 1998)).

[14] A splendid reconstruction of the carrier of Daibertus, of his relationships with the city of Pisa and in general of his 'life and times' can be found in the above mentioned: Matzke, *Daiberto di Pisa*.

[15] M. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective* (Paris 1950; edition Paris, 1997), in particular p. 135-42; id., *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris, 1925). Important developments of the concept in: J. Fentress and Ch. Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992); J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1992).

Mahdiyya in 1087, ruled by Emir Tamīm of the Zirid dynasty.[16] The expedition was led by the Pisans and the Genoese, who also received the support of a Roman and an Amalfitan contingent. A Pisan poem celebrates the Italian victory over the Saracens. This poem was written, in all likelihood, by a Pisan cleric: the classical, biblical and patristic references in the text all point to such an authorship. It has been supposed that the vivid and realistic description of the city and of the battles indicates an early redaction of the work, shortly after the victory (therefore at the end of the eleventh century).[17]

The poet celebrates the unity of the city against an enemy of the Faith and compares the Pisan victory against the Saracens to the Roman victory over Carthage:

> While about to write the history of the noble Pisans, I renew the memory of the ancient Romans, Pisa indeed extends the admirable praise, that Rome once received when it defeated Carthage.[18]

As we shall see, the convention of comparing Pisa to Rome and referring to the Pisan deeds as renewing the glory of Rome comes to play an important role in the construction of the self-consciousness of Pisan elites, and probably pushed the Pisan clergy to look into the ancestral origins of their city.[19] The poet mentions the main consuls of the city ("*Petrum et Sismundum, principales consules*") and other famed and noble citizens of the city ("*Lambertum et Glandulfum*, *cives claros nobiles*").[20] While we cannot speak of 'permanent' communal

[16] G. SCALIA, "Contributi pisani alla lotta antiislamica nel Mediterraneo centro-occidentale durante il secolo XI e nei primi decenni del XII", *Anuario des Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), pp. 135-144; M. TANGHERONI, "Pisa, l'Islam, il Mediterraneo, la Prima Crociata: Alcune considerazioni", in: *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo*, ed. F. CARDINI (Florence, 1982), pp. 31-55, at pp. 45-48.

[17] G. SCALIA, "Il carme pisano sull'impresa contro i Saraceni del 1087", in: *Studi di filologia romanza in onore di Silvio Pellegrini* (Padua, 1971), pp. 565-627; H.E.J. COWDREY, "The Mahdia Campaign of 1087", *English Historical Review* 362 (1977), pp. 1-29, at pp. 2-3. See also: M. CAMPOPIANO, "Gli arabismi del *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*", *Bollettino Storico Pisano* 73 (2004), pp. 281-284.

[18] *"Inclitorum Pisanorum scripturus istoriam,/ antiquorum Romanorum renovo memoriam:/ nam extendit modo Pisa laudem admirabilem,/ quam recepit olim Romam vincendo Cartaginem*" (SCALIA, "Il carme pisano", p. 597).

[19] On the role of Rome in Pisan culture: G. SCALIA, "'*Romanitas*' pisana tra XI e XII secolo: Le iscrizioni del duomo e la statua del console Rodolfo", *Studi Medievali* 3a serie 13 (1972), pp. 791-843.

[20] SCALIA, "Il carme pisano", p. 607.

institutions, the self-government 'capabilities' of the urban elite clearly emerge even in this early witness to the historical culture of the city. Viscount Hugh, heir of the ancient, pre-communal administration of the city and connected to the March of Tuscany,[21] is presented as the leader of the citizens: he is called by the poet "*capud urbis*" ("head of the city", as leader of the city), and "*dux noster atque princeps*".[22] The Marquise Matilda herself probably played an important role in the preparation of the expedition. Matilda is also to thank for the presence of Bishop Benedict of Modena as one of the leaders of the expedition: the Pisan see was vacant at that time.[23] The role of the bishop as spiritual leader of the expedition is exalted in the poem: the bishop (in the poem simply called "*presul*"; the poet does not say that he is not the bishop of Pisa) reveals to the consuls and the nobles of the city how to circumvent Tamīm and pronounces an allocution to push the warriors into battle. The Pisans also fixed the event in the material memory of the city: the spoils of the expedition were used to embellish the cathedral and to establish the new church of San Sisto in Corte Vecchia.[24]

The victorious expedition against the Muslims of the Balearic Islands Archipelago in 1113-1115, led by Pisa with the help of numerous Italian contingents and Catalan and Provençal feudal lords, has been celebrated by the author of the *Book of Majorca* (*Liber Maiorichinus*).[25] The poem was probably written in the first half of the twelfth century, in hexameters, the standard epic metre in Greek and Roman literature. The poet is a clergyman, in all likelihood

[21] M.C. PRATESI, "I visconti", in: G. ROSSETTI, M. C. PRATESI, *et al.*, *Pisa nei secoli XI e XII: Formazione e caratteri di una classe di governo* (Pisa, 1979), pp. 3-61, at pp. 5-6 and 57-58; R. BORDONE, "I visconti cittadini in età comunale", in: *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel medioevo: Marchesi conti e visconti nel Regno italico (secc. IX-XII): Atti del secondo convegno di Pisa: 3-4 dicembre 1993* (Roma, 1996), pp. 376-403

[22] SCALIA, "Il carme pisano", pp. 614-615.

[23] COWDREY, "The Mahdia Campaign", pp. 16-19; RONZANI, *Chiesa e "Civitas"*, pp. 222-228.

[24] "*Ex quibus civitatibus Saracenis fere omnibus interfectis, maximam auri, argenti, palliorum et ornamentorum abstraxerunt. De qua preda thesauros Pisane Ecclesie et diversis ornamentis mirabiliter amplificaverunt, et Ecclesiam B. Sixti in curte veteri edificaverunt*" (*Chronicon Pisanum seu fragmentum auctoris incerti*, ed. in: *Gli Annales Pisani di Bernardo Maragone*, ed. M. LUPO GENTILE (Bologna, 1930: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 6.2), pp. 99-103, at pp. 101-102).

[25] *Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, ed. C. CALISSE (Roma, 1904: *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 29). Giuseppe Scalia is going to publish a new edition of the text for the *Edizione Nazionale dei Testi Mediolatini*.

the priest Henricus ("*Presbiter Henricus plebanus*"), a cleric of the cathedral.[26] In the poem, the protagonist dreams of the final victory of the Christians over the Muslims, a topos that generally refers to the authorship of the poem.[27] The bishop and the clergy have a central role in the organisation of the expedition and are among the major leaders of the Pisan army.[28] In the Pisan camp, the tents of the lay elite are close to the quarters of the bishop and the clergy, so that they can quickly reach their spiritual leaders.[29] Before heading to the Balearic Islands Archipelago, the bishop and a delegation of the civic authorities went to Rome to receive the cross and the Roman insignia.[30] The shadow of Rome (Christian or Classical, it makes no difference for the medieval author) is once more projected onto Pisan culture.

As in the poem for the victory of al-Mahdiyya, there are many references to classical Antiquity, and the Pisans are compared to the Romans. The Italians are usually called *Latini*,[31] the Italian towns *Latiae urbes*. It has been said that Viscount Hugh deals with the Pisan knights following the habits of the Romans ("*Pisanos equites tractabat more Quiritis*").[32] But for the author of the poem, Pisa is more ancient than Rome. The *Liber Maiorichinus* calls the Pisans *Alphei*.[33] This is a reference to a tradition, already present in ancient literature (at least since Pliny), that wanted to see a link between the city of Pisa in the Peloponnese, near the Alpheiós River (hence *Alphei*) and the Tuscan city.[34]

[26] G. SCALIA, "Intorno ai codici del '*Liber Maiorichinus*'", *Bulletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 69 (1957), pp. 243-273; ID., "Per una riedizione del '*Liber Maiolichinus*'", *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo e Archivio Muratoriano* 72 (1959), pp. 79-110; M.L. CECCARELLI LEMUT, "Enrico da Pisa (Henricus plebanus)", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 42 (Rome, 1993), pp. 751-752.

[27] *Liber Maiolichinus*, p. 119.

[28] G. VOLPE, "Il '*Liber Maiolichinus de gestis pisanorum illustribus*' e l'ordinamento di una città marinara", in: ID., *Medioevo italiano*, pp. 189-210; M.L. CECCARELLI LEMUT and G. GARZELLA, "*Optimus antistes*: Pietro vescovo di Pisa (1105-1119), autorità religiosa e civile", *Bollettino Storico Pisano* 70 (2001), pp. 79-104 at pp. 91-93.

[29] *Liber Maiolichinus*, p. 82.

[30] *Liber Maiolichinus*, p. 8.

[31] *Liber Maiolichinus*, for example pp. 5 and 12.

[32] *Liber Maiolichinus*, p. 35.

[33] "*Ammonet Alpheos ductor rectorque Pyrenes*" (*Liber Maiolichinus*, p. 66).

[34] D. BRIQUEL, *Les Pélasges en Italie: Recherches sur l'histoire de la légende* (Rome, 1984), pp. 302-304; ID., *L'origine lydienne des Etrusques: Histoire de la doctrine dans l'Antiquité* (Rome, 1991), pp. 249-261; M. BONAMICI, "'*Alii ubi modo Pisae sunt, Phocida oppidum fuisse aiunt*': Qualche osservazione a Servio, in Virg. Aen. X, 179", *Studi Classici e Orientali* 43 (1993), pp. 249-261; A. COPPOLA, *Archaiología e Propaganda: I Greci, Roma e l'Italia* (Roma, 1995), p. 142; C. AMPOLO, "Pisa arcaica: Una rappresentazione delle sue origini mediterranee

The references to the Roman past are leading the Pisan clergy to find an ancient origin for their city itself. If the origins of Rome could be linked to the history of the noble city of Troy through the figure of Aeneas, the link – already present in classical literature – between Pisa in the Peloponnese and the Tuscan city offers the Pisan clergy the opportunity to compete with the Roman model even in the ancestral past.

This attitude toward Pisa's ancient past is developed in another work that it is more or less contemporary to the *Liber Maiorichinus*. We are referring to a compilation of historical and geographical texts, accomplished between 1118 and 1119, and known as *Liber Guidonis compositus de variis historiis*, written by a certain Guido. It is difficult to identify the author of the *Liber Guidonis* with any of the personalities known from Pisan sources between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The most interesting identification has been proposed by Giuseppe Scalia: the author of the compilation could be the deacon Vido Dodone, "expert in the knowledge of the trivium" ("*trivii ratione peritus*") mentioned in the *Liber Maiorichinus*.[35] If this identification is correct, our Guido would be a Pisan deacon, and then archdeacon, who later became cardinal (at least from 1125) of the Roman Church.[36]

## *Pisa's Foundation Myth*

The *Liber Guidonis compositus de variis historiis* includes various texts,[37]

nelle fonti letterarie", in: *Pisa e il Mediterraneo: Uomini, merci, idee dagli Etruschi ai Medici*, M. TANGHERONI (Milan, 2003), pp. 39-43.

[35] *Liber Maiolichinus*, p. 25; SCALIA, "'*Romanitas*'", pp. 810-811; ID., "Il carme pisano", pp. 567-70 .

[36] *Liber Guidonis compositus de variis historiis: Studio ed edizione critica dei testi inediti*, ed. M. CAMPOPIANO (Florence, 2008: *Edizione Nationale dei Testi Mediolatini* 22), pp. LVII-LX.

[37] I will refer to some general bibliography on the *Liber Guidonis*; further references can be found in these works: P. GAUTIER-DALCHÉ, *Carte marine et portulan au XIIe siècle. Le* Liber de existencia riveriarum et forma maris nostri Mediterranei *(Pise, circa 1200)* (Rome, 1995), pp. 93-98 and 255-261; U. MÖLK, "Gelehrtes Wissen für Gesellschaft und Vaterland: Philologische Bemerkungen zu den *Variae historiae* des Guido Pisanus", *Cultura Neolatina* 62 (2002), pp. 109-135; P. GAUTIER-DALCHÉ, "Pisa e il Mediterraneo nella geografia medievale", in *Pisa e il Mediterraneo*, pp. 115-119; VON DER HÖH, *Erinnerungskultur*, pp. 91-103; *Liber Guidonis compositus de variis historiis*. The works of Giuseppe Scalia, who first analysed the *Romanitas Pisana*, deserve to be listed separately: G. SCALIA, "Olivierus e Rolandus nel *Liber Maiorichinus*", *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari* 4 (1956), pp. 285-301, at p. 299; ID., "Epigraphica Pisana", pp. 257 and 283-286; ID., "Il carme pisano", 567-570; ID., "'*Romanitas*'", pp. 810-181;

such as a reworking of the Ravenna Cosmography; an early medieval description of the world based on sources from Late Antiquity;[38] excerpts of the *Etymologiae*; a history of Alexander the Great; and several texts on the Trojan war, including a reworking of the *Excidium Troiae* ("*Destruction of Troy*"), a text on the Trojan war and Aeneas' travels (sixth century?). This reworking has been done by Guido himself: among the most relevant interventions of the compiler are interpolations of excerpts of the *Aeneid*.[39]

In the reworking of the Ravenna Cosmography included in the compilation we find twice a description of the Greek origins of Pisa: "This city was built and edified in Tuscany by Pelops, Tantalus' son, who was there in exile".[40] This same sentence can be found in Guido's reworking of the *Excidium Troiae* included in the *Liber Guidonis*, in a section of the *Excidium* concerning the Etruscan troops sent to Aeneas to help the Trojan warrior in his war against the Latins. The original version of the *Excidium Troiae* does not mention the Etruscan allies of Aeneas, whereas Guido inserted the list of the Etruscan troops sent to the Trojan hero from the *Aeneid* (the lines of the *Aeneid* he used are Book X, 166-186, 194, 198-200). When it comes to the Pisan troops, Guido inserts another fragment on the foundation of Pisa:

> The prince Massicus gave him a thousand men with ships, some of whom lived in Clusis and some in Cosae. Some among them were archers, others very good warriors. Also Abas came, whose troops shone of good and beautiful and decorous armour and in whose ship an Apollo was depicted in gold. Mother Populonia gave six hundred very strong men, as Virgil says: "Mother Populonia gave him six hundred". The Island of Elba three hundred, as Virgil says: "and Elba three hundred". Instead Pisa, a very noble city of Tuscany, gave him a thousand soldiers, highly expert in warfare, serried in array and with bristling spears, for whom Asilas was established as leader, an admirable astronomer and augur who knew the future. This city was built and edified in Tuscany by Pelops, Tantalus' son, who was there in exile.[41]

ID., "'Arnus' – 'Sarnus': Dante, Boccaccio e un abbaglio orosiano", *Studi Medievali*, 3a s. 20 (1979), pp. 625-655, at pp. 635-537.

[38] The version that has been transmitted to us dates back to the ninth century; see L. DILLEMANN, *La Cosmographie du Ravennate* (Brussels, 1997), pp. 26-27.

[39] *Liber Guidonis*, pp. CXXXI-CXXIX.

[40] "*Que civitas predicta in Tuscia a Pelopide Tantali filio constructa et edificata est, apud eam exulans*" (*Itineraria Romana: Volumen alterum: Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, ed. J. SCHNETZ (Leipzig, 1940), pp. 121 and 131).

[41] *Liber Guidonis*, p. 82: "*Cui Massicus princeps M viros cum navibus dedit, quorum pars Clusim pars Cosas habitabant. Horum etiam alii sagittarii, alii vero optimi erant bellatores.*

To our knowledge, Guido is the first medieval author to mention Pelops as the founder of Pisa. The direct source of the foundation myth is uncertain,[42] but whatever the source of the interpolation may be, its importance is clear. Pisa is even more ancient than Rome, and the Tyrrhenian city sent troops to the hero whose descendants founded Rome. Pisa is not just renewing the deeds of Rome, as had already been written in the poem for the battle of al-Mahdiyya or in the *Liber Maiorichinus*, but its ancestral past is no less noble than that of Rome. Guido reminds the reader that it was thanks to his allies – among whom Pisa and Elba Island feature prominently – that Aeneas could defeat his enemies and establish himself in Latium.[43]

Guido's compilation is very important in understanding the development of a common sense of the past among the Pisan elite. In the long run, the myth of the foundation of Pisa by Pelops proved to be very influential: it is present in all fourteenth-century chronicles of the city[44] and it also recurs in the famous poem *De preliis Tuscie* (*On the Battles of Tuscany*) of the Pisan Dominican friar Ranieri Granchi.[45] But already in the twelfth century the work of the Pisan clergyman must have been quite influential. The most ancient manuscript of the *Liber Guidonis*, MS 3897-3919 of the Royal Library of Brussels, can be dated, by palaeographical investigation, to the years 1150-1170/80 (I remind the reader that the compilation itself dates from the years 1118-1119), and it was probably copied in Pisa.[46] The *Liber Guidonis* was presumably used for teaching purposes: not only does the oldest manuscript contain numerous anno-

*Venit etiam Abas, cuius agmen optimis atque pulcherrimis et decoris armis fulgebat et in cuius navi Apollo auro depictus erat. Populonia vero mater* DC *fortissimos dedit viros, ut Vergilius ait: 'DC illi dabat Populonia mater'. Ilba insula* CCC*, ut Vergilius ait: 'Ast Ilba* CCC*'. Que insula pre ceteris metallis habundat. Pisa autem Tuscie civitas nobilissima dedit ei milites numero M, bello expertissimos, densos acie et horrentibus hastis, quibus Asilas astronomicus mirabilis et augur futurorumque prescius princeps constitutus est. Que civitas predicta in Tuscia a Pelopide Tantali filio constructa et edificata est, apud eam exulans*". Free translation from Latin by the author.

[42] For the sources, see: M. Campopiano, "Construction of the text, construction of the past: Historical knowledge, classical myths and ideology in a medieval *comune* (Pisa, eleventh to twelfth centuries)", *Troianalexandrina* 9 (2009), pp. 63-84.

[43] *Liber Guidonis*, p. 86.

[44] O. Banti, "Studio sulla genesi dei testi cronisitici pisani del secolo XIV", *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 75 (1963), pp. 259-319.

[45] Ranieri Granchi, *De proeliis Tusciae: Poema fratris Raynerii de Grancis*, ed. C. Meliconi (Città di Castello, 1915: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 11.2.1), pp. 101-102. New edition: *De preliis Tuscie*, ed. M. Diana (Florence, 2009: *Il Ritorno dei Classici nell'Umanesimo: Storiografia umanistica* 4).

[46] Scalia, "Il carme p;isano", pp. 567-570; Gautier-Dalché, *Carte marine*, pp. 255-261; Mölk, "Gelehrtes Wissen", pp. 111-115; *Liber Guidonis*, pp. XXXVII-XXXIX and p. LIII, n. 18.

tations and remarks that suggest frequent consultation, but the compilation itself includes summaries and lists of names that seem to have been of educational use, such as the list of geographers' names ("*philosophi qui totum orbem descripserunt*" – "the philosophers who described the whole world", says the compilation).[47]

Another source seems to confirm the role of this foundation myth in shaping the collective memory of the Italian city in the twelfth century. A parchment of the fifteenth century, which was kept in the hall where the chapter of the cathedral – the most important body of the city clergy – used to gather, describes both the foundation of Pisa and the consecration of its cathedral by Pope Gelasius II in 1118. The foundation of the *civitas* and the consecration of the civic temple of the *cives* are brought together: the unity of the urban community is linked to the establishment of its spiritual centre. The parchment includes an illumination representing both the foundation by Pelops and the consecration of the cathedral. The illumination reveals a cloister on the southern side of the cathedral, even though this cloister had been destroyed in 1214. This parchment, religiously kept by the chapter of the cathedral, is therefore a copy of an older parchment, probably from the twelfth century, and in any case made before 1214.[48]

The development of historical culture in Pisa between the eleventh and twelfth centuries tells us that the sense of the past of this early commune was largely shaped by the clergy of the cathedral, in the same way that the Pisan Church contributed to shaping the political institutions of the city, laying the foundations for internal peace and self-organisation against external enemies in a climate of continuity between what we can perhaps call the pre-communal and communal periods.

## *The Origin of the Commune and Communal Historiography in Genoa*

The Pisan clergy had a crucial role in shaping the sense of the past in Pisa, but was this the case in other Italian cities? Let us take the case of Pisa's mortal enemy: Genoa. Genoa represents one of the best known cases to the historian of communal historiography, because this city provides us with an early exam-

[47] *Liber Guidonis*, pp. CXX and 22.

[48] F. REDI, *Pisa: Il Duomo e la Piazza* (Cinisello Balsamo, 1996), pp. 107-111; RONZANI, "La formazione"; *Liber Guidonis*, pp. CXXVIII-CCXXIX.

ple of an 'official' version of the past history of the *comune*: the *Annales Ianuenses* by Caffaro. Caffaro had been *consul de comuni*, the principal official of the commune, and had held several other civic offices as well.[49] He was a layman and a member of the communal elite. He showed his *Annales* to the consuls in 1152, who decided to transcribe the volume and to place it among the official documents of the commune, making this history official. Caffaro continued his chronicles until 1163. They represented an official version of the past, as official as a document kept in the city archives or by the notaries could be.[50]

We find no foundation myth in Caffaro's *Annals*, or in any of his other historical works, such as the *Liber de liberatione civitatum Orientis* and the *Historia captionis Almarie et Tortuose*.[51] The *Annales* are presented as a source for the most recent history of Genoa:

> Whoever wanted to have, for his or somebody else's usefulness, a knowledge of the past years from the time of the army in Caesarea [the see of Caesarea in the First Crusade] up to now, read this writing, found from the memory of Caffaro, and after having read it know the truth.[52]

The body of the chronicle starts with the *compagna*, the sworn association of the urban elite, at the time of the crusade expedition: "At the time of the expedition to Caesarea, just before it, in the city of the Genoese a *compagna* of three years' duration and of six consuls was begun".[53] The recent events of

[49] G. Petti Balbi, "Caffaro", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 16 (Rome, 1973), pp. 256-260.

[50] G. Arnaldi, "Uno sguardo agli *Annali Genovesi*", in: id., *Studi sui cronisti della Marca Trevigiana nell'età di Ezzelino da Romano* (Roma, 1963), pp. 225-245; G. Petti Balbi, *Caffaro e la cronachistica genovese* (Genua, 1982), at pp. 18-31; Wickham, "The sense of the past", pp. 295-296; F. Schweppenstette, *Die Politik der Erinnerung: Studien zur Stadtgeschichtsschreibung Genuas im 12. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M., 2003), pp. 65-70. On the nature of this 'officiality', see the interesting observations in: G. Arnaldi, "Cronache con documenti, cronache 'autentiche' e pubblica storiografia", in: *Fonti medioevali e problematica storiografica: Atti del Congresso internazionale tenuto in occasione del 90 anniversario della fondazione dell'Istituto Storico Italiano (1883-1973), Roma, 22-27 ottobre 1973*, 2 vols. (Roma, 1976), 1, pp. 351-374

[51] Also the *Notitia episcoporum Ianuensium* has been sometimes attributed to Caffaro (*Gli Annali Genovesi di Caffaro*, p. xcii).

[52] *"Quicumque sua utilitate vel aliena preteritorum annorum a tempore stoli Cesarie usque nunc noticiam habere voluerit, hoc scriptum a memoria Cafari inventum legat, et lecto veritatem cognoscat*" (*Gli Annali Genovesi di Caffaro*, p. 3).

[53] "*Tempore enim stoli Cesarie, paulo ante, in civitate Ianuensium compagna trium annorum et sex consolum incepta fuit*" (*Gli Annali Genovesi di Caffaro*, p. 5).

political history of the city and its military exploits are the most important topics of Caffaro's narrative. As Giovanna Petti Balbi noticed, Caffaro does not link Genoa's history to a myth of foundation, or even to a more ancient past, or to the history of the Empire: "Genoa seems at the centre of the world, a city and a community without a past, of recent foundation, free from bounds to the papacy and the Empire".[54] This is a difference we could somehow expect in comparison with the clerics who wrote the epigraphs, the epic poems, the historical compilations and the first chronicles in eleventh- and twelfth-century Pisa. The urban clergy was the heir of an ancient tradition: classical culture was part of the cultural background of the clerics, and the history of the bishopric was linked to that of the Empire and the papacy. But Caffaro's historiography also differs radically from that of another layman, the Pisan historian Bernardo Maragone (attested in Pisan sources in the years 1142-1186), who compiled his annals (*Annales Pisani*) some years later but without receiving the official status of his Genoese colleague.[55] Maragone refers to world history from its very beginning (the first entry of his *Annales* is: "From Adam until Noah there were 2242 years, ten generations"[56]) and to more ancient events involving his city, such as the Pisan expedition to the Strait of Messina in 970.[57]

Caffaro writes about the most recent past of the city, and makes only occasional references to military exploits before the Caesarean expedition.[58] He focuses on the history of what we could call the commune, the political organism that was taking shape in the years when he exercised public functions (more or less 1121-1158: he carried on his *Annales* until 1163 and died in 1166), and thus more on the history of the *civitas*, the city. Caffaro organises

[54] "*Genova pare quindi il centro del mondo, una città ed una comunità senza passato, di fondazione recente, libera da vincolanti legami con papato e impero ...*" (G. PETTI BALBI, *Una città e il suo mare: Genova nel Medioevo* (Genova, 1991), p. 311). See also SCHWEPPENSTETTE, *Die Politik*, pp. 112-131. More in general, for the relationship with antiquity in twelfth-century Genoa, see: R.M. MÜLLER, Sic hostes Ianua frangit*: Spolien und Trophäen im mittelalterlichen Genua* (Weimar, 2002), p. 41.

[55] L.A. BOTTEGHI, "Bernardo Maragone autore degli Annales Pisani"*, Archivio Muratoriano* 2 (1921), pp. 645-661; M.L. CECCARELLI LEMUT, "Bernardo Maragone "provisor" e cronista di Pisa nel XII secolo", in: *Legislazione e governo della "Respublica Pisana"*, ed. G. ROSSETTI (Naples, 2001), pp. 119-137.

[56] "*Ab Adam usque ad Noe fuerunt anni MMCCXLII, generationes X*" (*Annales Pisani*, in: *Gli Annales Pisani*, pp. 3-74, at p. 3).

[57] "971. The Pisans were in Calabria ("*DCCCCLXXI. Fuerunt Pisani in Calabria*"; *Annales Pisani*, p. 4).

[58] *Gli Annali Genovesi di Caffaro*, p .13

the chronology of his narrative following the succession of the *compagnae* and of the *consules*.[59] As Caffaro, Bernardo Maragone held several civic offices, but Maragone only dates by consuls from 1156: he focuses on the *civitas* rather than on the *comune*.

The communal experience developed in Pisa in a framework in which other institutions were already the depositary of an urban political and social tradition, i.e. the clergy and, to a minor extent, the heirs of the administration of the marquis (the viscounts). Renato Bordone has recently pointed out how in Genoa the political institutions that gave rise to the *comune* developed in a field from which other institutional powers – such as the bishops and the marquis and his representatives – were relatively absent.[60] This affirmation offers a possible interpretation of the development of Genoese historiography. The urban elite appear to be quite wealthy and independent already in the ninth century, probably because of their interest in shipping and trade.[61] In 958, Berengar II, King of Italy, and his son Adalbert, who reigned with him, confirmed all the possessions kept by the Genoese according to their consuetudinary rules and established the immunity of their possessions from the royal functionaries.[62] The recognition of Genoese consuetudinary rules ("*vestra consuetudo*") by Marquis Albertus in a charter of 1056 is another sign of the

[59] See for example: "*Prefata compagnia peracta, incepta fuit alia .IIII.or annorum; et fuerunt consules .IIII.or electi per duos annos, et alii quattuor per alios duos*" (*Gli Annali Genovesi di Caffaro*, p. 16); "*Secundo vero anno consulatuum unius anni, fuerunt consules Olgerius Capra, Willielmus de Mauro, Iterius, Willielmus de Volta*" (*Gli Annali Genovesi di Caffaro*, p. 18). It is important, however, to keep in mind the advertence of Chris Wickham: "The consulate was not, however, necessarily regarded as being permanent; as late as 1150 contracts with the commune of Genoa included escape clauses for the eventuality that it might dissolve. Caffaro's insistent preoccupation with consular offices perhaps in part reflects an unease, on the part of a member of the consular élite itself, about the stability and the permanence of the city's government structures, although they were in his eyes the only bulwark against civil war" (WICKHAM, "The sense of the past", p. 297).

[60] R. BORDONE, "Le origini del comune di Genova", in: *Comuni e memoria storica: Alle origini del comune di Genova. Atti del convegno di studi. Genova, 24-26 settembre 2001* (Genova, 2001: *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, n.s. 42.1 = 116.1), pp. 237-259, at p. 247.

[61] B.Z. KEDAR, "Una nuova fonte per l'incursione musulmana del 934-935 e le sue implicazioni per la storia genovese", in: *Oriente e Occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna: Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino*, ed. L. BALLETTO (Genua, 1997), pp. 605-616.

[62] *I* Libri Iurium *della Repubblica di Genova*, 1.1, ed. A. ROVERE (Genua and Rome 1992: *Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato: Fonti* 13), pp. 4-5. See also: P. GUGLIELMOTTI, "Definizioni di territorio e protagonisti politici e sociali a Genova nei secoli X-XI", in: *Comuni e memoria storica*, pp. 299-327

autonomy of the urban community in respect to the 'public authorities' and the Church. Dependents of the Genoese aristocracy were subjected to taxation rights and the administration of justice exercised by the marquis or by the viscounts, and farmers to the marquis, but those dwelling on the properties of the Genoese had the right to stay there and were freed from public services ("*servicium publicum*").[63] The viscounts themselves, although they remained part of the urban elite, in the twelfth century had already begun to stop using the ancient 'name' (*Vicecomes*) and their different lineages started to appear under different surnames, and they seemed to have lacked any instrument of collective solidarity.[64] The position of the Church also seems to have grown weaker during the twelfth century: in the brief of the consuls in 1143 (a sort of precis of Genoese law and a description of the duties of the consuls), the public officials had to promise to punish anyone who harmed the interests of the Church, "a sign that the power of the archbishop had waned, as he himself could not defend it".[65]

Caffaro is a member of the lay elite in a city where the bishop and the chapter of the cathedral did not play a major role in shaping the 'new' self-ruling bodies of the cities. He does not look for a myth of foundation for his city: he finds the 'origins' or, better, the starting point of his narrative in events that characterise the recent epic deeds of Genoa, in a moment when a new political body was emerging and slowly acquiring more definite attributes. Caffaro starts his narrative with the *compagna*, the sworn association of the urban elite, of six consuls begun in 1099, and with the military expedition to help in the First Crusade. But this was not the first *compagna* in the history of Genoa, as Caffaro himself tells us,[66] and the *compagna* was not, at that time, a permanent political framework. It seems that Caffaro cannot find for this 'work in progress', the *comune*, an origin, a starting point, like the myth of foundation

[63] *I* Libri Iurium, pp. 6-9.

[64] G. Petti Balbi, "I Visconti di Genova: Identità e funzioni dei Carmadino", *Archivio storico italiano* 158 (2000), pp. 679-720. Giovanna Petti Balbi writes: "*Si ha però la sensazione che i Visconti genovesi siano stati incapaci di costruire entro la loro ramificata progenie efficaci strumenti di coordinamento e di solidarietà reciproci, che si siano per così dire precocemente divisi e indeboliti, favorendo l'azione erosiva del Comune e della Chiesa genovese, tesi a espropiarli delle loro antiche prerogative*".

[65] S.A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958 -1528* (Chapel Hill, 1996), p. 36; *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, ed. C.C.S.M. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, 3 vols. (Rome, 1936-1942: *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 77, 79, 89), 1, pp. 154-166.

[66] In the *Liber de liberatione civitatum Orientis*, ed. in: *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro*, 1, p. 111.

of the *civitas* for the Pisan clergymen. His narrative begins with a military expedition that links the city of Genoa to the glorious expansion of Latin Christianity in the Mediterranean Basin.[67] The sense of a common past among the Genoese elite is based solely on the recent military exploits of the Genoese and on the slow development of self-government institutions.

## *The Clergy and Foundation Myths in Eleventh-Century Milan*

Milan, one of most important cities in northern Italy, also had an important historiographical tradition, which was connected to the intellectual activity of its clergy and reaped important fruits at the end of the eleventh century. The autonomous tradition of the Milanese Church, its rich liturgical heritage and its special connection with the deeds and teaching of St. Ambrose (†397) shaped the civic pride of its clergy.[68] The name of Arnulf, the author of the *Liber gestorum recentium* (likely concluded shortly after 1077), is well known to historians. A supporter of the Ambrosian tradition, Arnulf focuses on the events of the city, and especially on the its position between the Patarene faction, a movement of Church reformers that rejected the legitimacy of simoniac clergy and took inspiration from the reform trends of the Roman Church, and the supporters of the Ambrosian clergy after 1075.[69] In his foreword Arnulf

[67] As we know, Caffaro himself described the liberation of Jerusalem in a short text: *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*.

[68] P. Zerbi, "La Chiesa Ambrosiana di fronte alla Chiesa Romana dal 1120 al 1135", *Studi Medievali* serie 3a 4 (1963), pp. 136-216; E. Cattaneo, "La tradizione ambrosiana come esperienza culturale cittadina", in: *Milano e i milanesi prima del mille (viii-x secolo): Atti del 10° congresso internazionale di studio sull'Alto Medioevo (Milano, 26-30 settembre 1983)* (Spoleto, 1986), pp. 119-136; C. Alzati, Ambrosiana Ecclesia. *Studi sulla Chiesa milanese e la sua tradizione* (Milano, 1988); P. Racine, "Coscience civique et formation des communes dans l'Italie Lombarde", in: *Die Frühgeschichte*, pp. 63-79, at pp. 65-66; Busch, *Die Mailänder Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 38-43.

[69] C. Violante, *La pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica*, 1, *Le premesse (1045-1057*) (Rome, 1955); id., "Arnolfo", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 4 (Rome, 1962), pp. 281-282; H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The papacy, the Patarenes and the Church of Milan", *Transactions of Royal Historical Society* 18 (1968), pp. 25-48; O. Capitani, 'Storiografia e riforma della chiesa in Italia (Arnolfo e Landolfo seniore)", in: *La storiografia altomedievale*, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1970: *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo di Spoleto* 17), 2, pp. 557-629; P. Golinelli, *La Pataria: Lotte religiose e sociali nella Milano dell'xi secolo* (Novara and Milan, 1984); C. Zey, "Una nuova edizione del "*Liber gestorum recentium*" di Arnolfo di Milano: Un progresso?", in: *Le cronache medievali di Milano*, ed. P. Chiesa (Milan, 2001), pp. 11-37.

writes that his narrative will focus on the kings of Italy and the archbishops of the Ambrosian Church, and he inserts a list of the kings and the archbishops.[70] But he also says he will write of what his fellow citizens, his *concives*, did:

> Dearest, whoever you are, don't ask anything more from me than I offer, that is a simple narrative, exposed with common words, of the deeds that our kings and our bishops and also our fellow citizens did in the city of Milan or outside of it and indeed our compatriots in the Italian kingdom did.[71]

The *civitas* and the feeling of being *concives* play a major role in his narrative, which gives much space to events in Milan. The civil struggles in Milan upset Arnulf: he complains that the Milanese, deprived of any external enemy, turned their weapons against their compatriots: "Since there was no enemy from outside, the citizens turned their hate against themselves".[72]

The narrative of the *Historia Mediolanensis*, traditionally attributed to Landulphus Senior and probably written after 1075, also focuses on the religious and civil conflicts of the city in the eleventh century.[73] The author is in all probability a cleric of the Milanese Church, in any case a supporter of the autonomous Ambrosian tradition and of its clergy against the authority of Rome, and he wants to warn the clergy and the people against the wrong theories of the Church reformers. He writes in his prefatory letter that he thought to write about the great deeds that have been accomplished in his time, but also about "the tribulations that the Ambrosian clergy suffered from the perfidious citizens and evil priests who exhorted them".[74] He writes that he has been urged to write his chronicle by the love of his homeland, of his city and of the

[70] Arnulf von Mailand, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. C. ZEY (Hannover, 1994: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* 67), pp. 115-116.

[71] "*Nichil a me igitur, carissime quisquis es, preter quod polliceor exigas, videlicet verbis prolatam communibus simplicem narrationem, que nostri reges nostrique gessere pontifices, nostri quoque concives in urbe Mediolano vel extra, compatriote vero nostri in regno Italico*" (*Liber gestorum recentium*, p. 117).

[72] "*Nullis itaque exterius adversantibus in semetipsos exercent odia cives*" (*Liber gestorum recentium*, p. 163).

[73] RACINE, "Conscience civique", p. 66; BUSCH, *Die Mailänder Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 35 and 39-40; P. CHIESA, "Landolfo Seniore", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 63 (Rome, 2004), pp. 497-501.

[74] "*tribulationes quas clerus Ambrosianus a perfidis civibus et malis sacerdotibus ipsos adhortantibus passus est*" (Landulfus, *Historia Mediolanensis*, ed. L.C. BETHMANN and W. WATTENBACH [in: *Chronica et gesta aevi Salici* 4] (Hannover, 1848: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores* 8, pp. 32-100, at p. 36).

clergy ("*ductus patriae atque civitatis meae amore, nec non et cleri eiusdem diligentiam*"[75]). According to him, the religious struggles in Milan were brought about by external elements, false prophets who were not sons of his city: "*per pseudoprophetas non huius urbis natos*".[76]

It is not surprising that he starts his narrative celebrating St. Ambrose, his deeds and the liturgical heritage of his Church: the honour and the glory of the city of Milan are mainly identified with the freedom and the prestige of the Ambrosian Church.[77] But Milan is not just exalted by its Ambrosian tradition. Its role as capital of the Roman Empire also plays a major role in the representation of the city's past:

> This city indeed, opportunely honoured and exalted by the magnificent emperors, who claimed the whole world under their power and their laws, bloomed again; and since they [the emperors] preferred it to Rome because of the beauty of its location and the healthiness of its air, improved it with many imperial ornaments, magnifying it above all the cities of Italy of that time.[78]

However, Milan was not founded by the Romans, but by the Gauls, by the people of the Senones: "*quam Senones Galli haedificaverant*".[79] The Gaulish chef *Breno* (Brennus) is the founder of the city, "who adorned it magnificently, after all the cities of Italy that he had built, and, after having adorned it, decorously exalted it with many honours". Magnified by Brennus and by all the Roman emperors, Milan excelled all Italian cities.[80] It is interesting to remark

[75] *Ibid*.

[76] *Ibid*.

[77] "*Ob hanc causam ecclesia sancti gloriosissimique confessoris Ambrosii quam clare, lucide, atque ymnis, organis, simphoniis, melodiis, per totum orbem terrarum emicuit, inquantum scientiola mea exprimere valuerit, prout comperi et in veritate didici, enucleare studebo*" (Landulfus, *Historia Mediolanensis*, p. 37).

[78] "*Haec etenim civitas a magnificis imperatoribus, orbem universum suo imperio ac legibus suis sibi vindicantibus, honorata decenter et exaltata competenter refloruit; atque super ipsam Romam loci amoenitate ac aeris salubritate ispam diligentes, ultra omnes Italiae civitates eo tempore sublimantes, multis cum ornatibus imperialibus auxerunt*" (Landulfus, *Historia Mediolanensis*, p. 45).

[79] *Ibid*. The myth of the Gaulish foundation of Milan, with ancient and early medieval antecedents, is beyond the scope of this work. For a more complete discussion on the sources of the myth, see: BUSCH, *Die Mailänder Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 185-191.

[80] "*post decessum Brenonis, qui eam post omnes Italiae urbes quas construxerat mirifice adornavit et adornatam decentissime multis honoribus superexaltavit, et qui postea, prout erat in cunctis usibus humanis salutifera, ab universis imperatoribus Romanis exaltatam, maximeque ab Hadriano et Nerva eius filio atque honorabilissimo et decentissimo rege Traiano, nec non*

that Brennus is the Gaulish chief who plundered Rome in 390/387 BC. The so-called Landulphus Senior is probably using another anonymous text, the so-called *Libellus de situ civitatis Mediolani*, which also associates the foundation of Milan with Brennus and the Gauls. Brenno, "*dux Gallorum*", occupied Italy and plundered Rome, with the exception of the Capitoline Hill. The Senones "started also to found cities to be inhabited by them", such as Bergamo (*Pergamum*), Brescia (*Brixia*), Pavia (*Ticinum* or *Papia*), "and also the one that they called, from the name of the people, Senigallia".[81] After having built these cities, they finally built Milan "with highly magnificent and decorous work".[82] But the Romans expelled the Gauls and built many magnificent monuments in Milan, such as a palace for the emperors, *thermae* and theatre, among others. For this reason, and for the healthiness of its air and its geographical position, the emperors often dwelled in Milan.[83]

According to Jörg W. Busch, the *Libellus* was written around 1075, although earlier dates have been proposed, such as the tenth or even the ninth or eighth centuries.[84] Pietro Tomea, eminent historian of Milanese hagio-

*Maximiano rege crudelissimo, palatiis supra portas septem iussis imperialibus magnifice elevatis, super cunctas Italiae urbes quasi rosae amoenissimae floruisset*" (Landulfus, Historia Mediolanensis, p. 53); see also: "*civitatis palatia, turres, et eius municipia, omniaque civium munimina, quae ob civitatis munimentum Breno dux Gallorum ac Nerva ac Traianus ac Maximianus crudelis et alii imperatores construxerunt*" (*ibid.*, p. 46).

[81] "*urbes etiam ad inabitandum sibi condere ceperunt, ut est hodie que Pergamum Brixia et Ticinum, que altero vocabulo Papia dicitur, nec non et eam quam ex nomine gentis Senogalliam appellarunt*" (*Anonymi Mediolanensis Libellus de situ civitatis Mediolani, de adventu Barnabe Apostoli et de vitis priorum pontificum Mediolanensium*, ed. A. COLOMBO and G. COLOMBO (Bologna, 1942: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 1.2), p. 8).

[82] "*Quibus ingenti structura firmissime fabricatis, Medilanum postremo exquisito in loco, velut in quadam umbilici terre planicie, mirificentissimo ac decentissimo construxerunt opere*" (*Anonymi Mediolanensis Libellus de situ civitatis Mediolani*, p. 9).

[83] *"Quam tamen postmodum romani Principes, expulsis Senonum populis, longe melius sublimantes auxerunt, locantes in ea, more patrio, eximium Augustorum dignitati pallatium, theatrum, naumatium, thermas et viridarium atque alia quecumque imperiali stemati complacitura forent. Ob quam causam sepissime ab eisdem postmodum Augustis frequenter cepit et incoli, eo quod esset inibi saluberimi aëris aptissima temperies locusque ad usum domesticos inrefragabiliter paratissimus*" (*Anonymi Mediolanensis Libellus de situ civitatis Mediolani*, pp. 9-10).

[84] *Anonymi Mediolanensis Libellus de situ civitatis Mediolani*, pp. III-XC; J.W. BUSCH, "Barnabas, Apostel der Mailänder: Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Entstehung einer stadgeschichtlichen Tradition", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 24 (1990), pp. 178-197, at p. 191; ID., *Die Mailänder Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 35 and p. 40; ID., "Mailand und Rom: Das antike Rom in lombardischen Geschichtsvorstellungen", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 36 (2002), pp. 379-396, at p. 381.

graphical tradition, argues that the text was written between the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries.[85] This text is extremely interesting because it claims that Christianity was brought to Milan by the apostle Barnabas,[86] who established the local Church and gave it the rank of archbishopric: "He established that the Milanese Church, that he himself founded, should perpetually be kept as see of the main ecclesiastical point and metropolis of the other Churches in that province".[87] This foundation gives to the Milanese Church the rank of Apostolic see. Although the origin of Barnabas' legend could be more ancient, it seems that his cult started to play a major role in the Milanese Church from the end of the eleventh century. Since that period, we start to find numerous attestations of his cult in liturgical texts and ecclesiastical foundations.[88] It is interesting to notice that this anonymous text associates the secular foundation of the city by Gauls and the foundation of the Milanese Church by Barnabas. Analogously, the so-called Landulphus Senior starts his *Historia Mediolanensis* narrating the deeds of St. Ambrose and celebrating the nobility of his heritage, but, as in the *Libellus*, he mentions the Gaulish foundation of Milan and reminds the reader of the dignity to which the city was elevated by the Roman emperors.[89]

The Milanese clergy needed to claim its antiquity because it was fighting a battle against the Patarene movement and Church reform to preserve their tradition of autonomy, but this struggle was strictly connected to a strong self-consciousness of the autonomy of the urban community as a whole. No wonder that the clergy developed an interest in the primitive foundation of the city alongside the foundation myth for its Church. By referring to a tradition of autonomy, to its ancient glory, to the civic pride of the Milanese, and to the Church reformers as intruders coming from outside, the clergy would have

[85] P. TOMEA, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo: La leggenda di san Barnaba* (Milano, 1993), pp. 19-43.

[86] On Barnabas, see TOMEA, *Tradizione apostolica*, pp. 11-16.

[87] "*sanxit ut Mediolanensis, quam ipse fundaverat, principalis ecclesiastici culminis sedes aliarumque in ea provincia ecclesiarum metropolis perpetualiter habeatur*" (*Anonymi Mediolanensis Libellus de situ civitatis Mediolani*, p. 20).

[88] BUSCH, "Barnabas"; TOMEA, *Tradizione apostolica*, pp. 55-65; BUSCH, *Die Mailänder Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 40.

[89] The *Historia Mediolanensis* alludes to the foundation of Milanese Church by Barnabas, although one of the passages in which the foundation by the apostle is mentioned, the oration of archbishop Benedict in Rome (maybe 711), is probably a later interpolation of the text of Landulphus Senior, (Landulfus, *Historia Mediolanensis*, pp. 44-45 and pp. 51-52; see TOMEA, *Tradizione apostolica*, pp. 44-54).

been playing an important ideological card in this struggle. The bishopric and the surrounding bodies of vassals of the bishop represented a primitive form of self-government of the city. By claiming the antiquity of its ecclesiastical tradition and, at the same time, remembering the ancient foundation and the ancient glory of the city, the clergy would have stressed the importance of continuity in a time when social and religious struggles were changing the life of the urban community. 'New' self-government bodies slowly took shape during these tormented decades, leading to the communal constitution of the city in the twelfth century. This process did not sever all ties between the new forms of organisation and the bishop and the clergy, which still played a crucial role in the urban life.[90] The Church could still appear as the safest stronghold of the autonomous tradition of the city, because of its ancient tradition of autonomy.

## *Conclusions*

The importance of the clergy in Pisan and Milanese historiography in the shaping of a myth of foundation in this early period is connected to the role of the Church in the construction of a local identity and of an autonomous political structure. The clergy had the intellectual tools (classical culture) to build these myths and the Church had an interest in claiming continuity with the most ancient past of the city. In eleventh-century Milan, foundation myths (of the city and of the Church) were developed in a context of strong political and religious confrontation, where the traditional structures of power of the Church and even the autonomous tradition of the Ambrosian clergy were put into question. Milanese historiographical output in the eleventh century is linked to the harsh social and religious conflicts of this period, and it is, to a certain extent, propaganda from one of its factions against the others. The clergy wanted to stress continuity in a period of rapid change, to claim the nobility of ancient

[90] It is beyond the scope of this paper to give a full bibliography of the social and political life of Milan in the eleventh century. Cf., e.g. C. VIOLANTE, *La società milanese nell'età precomunale* (Bari, 1953), pp. 161-245; G. DILCHER, *Die Entstehung der lombardischen Stadtkommune* (Aalen, 1967); H. KELLER, "Pataria und Stadtverfassung, Stadtgemeinde und Reform: Mailand im Inverstiturstreit", in: *Inverstiturstreit und Reichsverfassung*, ed. J. FLECKENSTEIN (Sigmaringen, 1973), pp. 321-350; ID., *Adelsherrschaft und städtische Gesellschaft in Oberitalien, 9.-12. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1979: *Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom* 52) ; ID., "Mailand im 11. Jahrhundert: Das Exemplarische an einem Sonderfall", in: *Die Frühgeschichte der Europäischen Stadt*, pp. 81-104.

urban and ecclesiastical traditions in a period when the traditional leading role of the archbishopric was under menace from both internal and external enemies.

The new communal institutions were developing in Pisa in a context of substantial continuity with pre-communal cadres of organisation. We have no interest in denying that important conflicts happened: if Daibertus had to establish the *Towers' Judgment*, it meant that factions of the elite were indeed fighting each other and the city also hesitated at some moment between the papacy and the Empire, in a period in which these two universal institutions were in harsh competition.[91] But the Church played a major role in establishing political peace in the city and in leading the military expeditions that allowed its impressive Mediterranean expansion in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in a situation of good relationships with the papacy. This leading role was mirrored in a literature in which the clergy vindicated the exploits of the city and asserted the importance of the unity of the urban community.

In both these cases, Pisa and Milan, the clergy had an interest in claiming the continuity of an ancient urban tradition in a world where new institutions and elites were slowly taking shape. This led to the definition of a foundation myth around which collective memory could crystallise: foundation myth as *lieu de mémoire*, site of memory. It is not surprising that the definition of these *lieux de mémoire* took place during periods of intense change. As Pierre Nora has pointed out:

> The defense, by certain minorities, of a privileged memory that has retreated to jealously protected enclaves in this sense intensely illuminates the truth of *lieux de mémoire* – that without commemorative vigilance, history would soon sweep them away. We buttress our identities upon such bastions, but if what they defended was not threatened, there would be no need to build them.[92]

In Genoa, the construction of an urban historiography was due almost exclusively to the new lay elite of the consular aristocracy. The new communal organisation seems to have developed in a context in which the Church and

[91] E.g. the privilege with which the emperor Henry IV tried to bind the city to the empire in 1081, trying to dissociate the citizens from the policies of their bishop (G. ROSSETTI, "Pisa e l'impero tra XI e XII secolo: Per una nuova edizione del diploma di Enrico IV ai Pisani", in: *Nobiltà e chiesa nel Medioevo e altri saggi: Scritti in onore di G. G. Tellenbach*, ed. C.VIOLANTE (Rome, 1993), pp. 159-182).

[92] P. NORA, "Between memory and history: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*", *Representations* 26 (1989), pp. 7-24.

other 'pre-communal' institutions were relatively absent. The lay elite shaped its sense of the past based on the successes of the new urban organisation; hence the link between the Genoese expedition in the First Crusade and the *compagna*, or sworn association of the urban elite. In a context in which the communal organisation is still unstable and is slowly taking shape, the lay elite felt the need to crystallise their origins in the collective memory. Their interest is entirely in the recent past, in the political events in which the new political and social organisation is expressing itself.

What the three cases analysed have in common is that the cadre of this historical culture became eminently urban. The institutions (Church, *comune* etc.) who became protagonists of these narratives are essentially urban institutions. The social evolution of the city is setting the pace for the dynamics of memory that is fixed in these texts.

# Writing about the Past of a Country from the Communal Viewpoint: Features, Models, and Examples in Croatian Humanist Historiography

IVA KURELAC

## *Introduction*

In this article I will attempt to present some of the most important features, models and examples of the most prominent historiographical works written in the age of humanism in Croatia, in which it is possible to identify the author's search for a particular urban identity. Since the main field of my scholarly interest is the historiography and cultural history of Dalmatia in the age of humanism, on this occasion the focus will be on the analysis of a few important historiographical works written in that part of Croatia.

First, I will present some specific characteristics of humanism in Croatia, which at the time largely determined the themes and manner of writing historiographical works. Since humanism in general cannot be discussed without examining its Italian origins, a portion of this article will be dedicated to the characteristics of Italian humanist historiography and its possible influences on Croatian historiography. Next, using the example of the contextual

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 251-268.

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framework of the most important works of Dalmatian humanist historiographers, I will try to determine the historical topics about which they wrote and to define the typical humanist model for writing an urban history.

## *The Characteristics of Croatian Humanist Historiography*

In order to better understand the specific perspective of Croatian humanist historiographers on the issue of urban identity, we should not forget to look for similar topics in Italian historiography of the time, which undoubtedly influenced much of Europe between 1350 and 1600. While humanism in Croatia shared many features with Italian humanism, it also had some very specific cultural characteristics. These stemmed primarily from the very complex political circumstances in Croatia, which made this cultural phenomenon even more sensitive towards the issues of urban, regional and national identity.[1] Generally speaking, the reception of the Italian Renaissance outside Italy was largely determined by local circumstances.[2] Thus, as M.B. Petrovich concludes, it should not be implied that Croatian humanism was merely a provincial offshoot or a copy of Italian humanism, but rather as the product of a long-standing local cultural tradition with roots going back to the Roman period.[3]

It is not surprising that the inhabitants of Dalmatia eagerly adopted the phenomenon of humanism as it had been introduced on the opposite coast of the Adriatic Sea. Humanism in Croatia was a logical extension of a long-standing Roman tradition. In the broader context of the dissemination of humanism among all the South Slavs, it should be mentioned that between the end of fourteenth and the end of the sixteenth centuries, when most of the Balkan Peninsula was invaded by the Ottoman conquerors, its inhabitants – the Serbs, Bulgarians and Macedonians – were culturally isolated from the Latin heritage

[1] V. Vratović, *Hrvati i latinska Europa* (Zagreb, 1996), pp. 7-8; B. Trencsény and M. Zászkaliczky, "Towards an intellectual history of patriotism in East Central Europe in the early modern period", in: *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. T. Ball *et al.* (Leiden and Boston, 2010: *Studies in the History of Political Thought* 3), pp. 1-75, at pp. 46-47.

[2] P. Burke, "The uses of Italy", in: *The Renaissance in National Context*, ed. R. Porter *et al*. (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 6-20, at p. 8.

[3] M.B. Petrovich, "Croatian humanists and the writing of history in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries", *Slavic Review* 37.4 (1978), pp. 624-639, at p. 625.

of Roman classical Antiquity, which was the most important source of influence for European humanism.[4]

On the other hand, because of the proximity of Italian centres, high levels of literacy, thriving literary production, and a long tradition of teaching the humanities in urban schools, humanism in Croatia came to life relatively early, at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Educated individuals (such as clergymen, teachers, notaries, lawyers and students), who often travelled across the Adriatic and studied in Italy, contributed to the spread of humanism in Croatia.[5] In the northern part of Croatia, humanism flourished within the framework of aristocratic and ecclesiastical institutions, while on the Adriatic coast, in Dalmatia, it had rather a secular character.[6] Under the strong influence of the Venetian Republic, which by the mid-fifteenth century ruled almost all the coastal cities of Dalmatia (with the exception of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), which was already a republic itself at the time and had protected its own interests)[7] – this area was home to a whole range of distinguished smaller urban political entities: the Dalmatian communes, each of which nurtured its own cultural circle. Thus on the eastern Adriatic coast, in Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor we find historiographical circles in which were gathered prominent local historiographers. In addition, we should not forget the efforts of the Croatian humanists on the islands of Rab, Cres, Krk, and Pag, as well as in Istria.[8]

The basic characteristics of humanist historiography in Dalmatia were, of course, conditioned by Italian influences, and therefore they were very similar to those of Italian historians. Generally speaking this meant that, in accordance with the typical model of literary creation of the period in the works of Dalmatian humanists, as well as with the fact that they were dominated by the strong influence of an ancient literary heritage, there was a restoration of interest in

[4] PETROVICH, "Croatian humanists", p. 624; P. BURKE, *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford, 1998), p. 7; ID., "The uses of Italy", p. 9.

[5] M. KURELAC, "Paladije Fusko – Palladius Fuscus: Život i djelo", in: *Fusko, Opis obale Ilirika: Ivan Lučić, Bilješke uz "Opis obale Ilirika" Paladija Fuska*, ed. B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ (Zagreb, 1990), pp. 5-60, at pp. 5-6; D. NOVAKOVIĆ, "Latinsko pjesništvo hrvatskoga humanizma", in: M. TOMASOVIĆ and D. NOVAKOVIĆ, *Marko Marulić: Hrvatski latinisti* (Zagreb, 1994), pp. 53-119, at p. 60; BURKE, *The European Renaissance*, p. 12.

[6] NOVAKOVIĆ, "Latinsko pjesništvo", p. 62.

[7] See the map "Croatia in the late Middle Ages", at p. xviii.

[8] B. GLAVIČIĆ, "Latinism in Croatia from the 13th to the 16th century", in: *Croatia and Europe*, 2, *Croatia in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. I. SUPIČIĆ, 2 vols. (London and Zagreb, 2008), pp. 405-423, at pp. 412-418.

the *studia humanitatis* and a special sensitivity towards literacy, language and literature.[9]

Apart from the universal humanist models mentioned above, the attitude of Croatian historiography towards key historical issues was largely determined by specific political circumstances; more precisely, by the division of the Croatian territory between the Venetian Republic, to which Dalmatia belonged, and the Kingdom of Hungary, comprising continental Croatia. In the works of Croatian humanists, the persistent Ottoman threat to their homeland was channelled into the form of a definite anti-Ottoman orientation, which encouraged the writers of historical works of the time to express more clearly their Christian spirit.[10]

As far as linguistic expression is concerned, it is important to emphasise that humanism in Dalmatia was characterised by a specific trilingualism. Literary works were written as often in Latin, the leading language of the international intellectual circles of the time, as in Italian, which was the spoken language of the Dalmatian people during humanism and was considered to be a vulgar Latin language, and in Croatian.[11]

[9] Cf. Paul Oskar Kristeller's definition of humanism: "I rather shall discuss humanism in a much more specific sense, and understand by humanists those scholars who by profession or vocation were concerned with the *studia humanitatis*, the humanities, and by humanism, the body of literature, scholarship and thought represented by the writings of the humanists. The *studia humanitatis* which we thus take as the basis for the definition of Renaissance humanism, comprised as well defined cycle of disciplines , as we may learn from a number of contemporary documents: grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy. To this list, we may add, as implied, the study of the Greek and Roman authors of classical antiquity" (P.O. KRISTELLER, "The European diffusion of Italian humanism", *Italica* 39.1 (1962), pp. 1-20, at pp. 1-2; R. BLACK, "Humanism", in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, 7, *c. 1415-c. 1500* ed. C. ALLMAND (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 243-277, at p. 248; NOVAKOVIĆ, "Latinsko pjesništvo", p. 58.

[10] GLAVIČIĆ, "Latinism in Croatia", p. 408.

[11] Yet, in the tenth century in Dalmatia classical Latin was still in use. At the same time there was a second Latin "Dalmatian", i.e. public, or vulgar language. This new Dalmatian *sermo vulgaris* was enriched with Italian and Slavic words. The historian Ivan Lučić Lucius from Trogir (1604-1679) claimed that Dalmatian was at the same level as other vernaculars which originated from classical Latin. Lucius wrote that this public, Dalmatian language was pronounced in a Slavic / Croatian way, which was clearly a sign that the Slavic language had evolved and entered into everyday use in the city. This public, spoken Dalmatian language was widespread among the elites of the fourteenth century, but it was incomprehensible to other Dalmatians. The Slavic language was then more used than Dalmatian, and Slavic came into use when the Slavs occupied the surrounding area, and the Dalmatians were forced out of necessity to talk with them in Slavic. See J. VRANDEČIĆ, "Dalmatinski gradovi između regionalizma *(ius soli)* i hrvatskog nacionalizma *(ius sanguinis)* (teritorij kao čimbenik samoidentifikacije u dalmatinskim protonacionalnim ideologijama)", in: *Glasje: Časopis za književnost i umjetnost* 6 (1998), pp.

## *Examples from Italian Humanist Historiography: From the City to the State*

The dissemination of humanism, and thereby of the humanist historiographical models from Italian cultural centres to the rest of Europe, was by no means an unambiguous or short process. Moreover, it took place simultaneously at several levels and through a few well-known channels. It is important to acknowledge the very significant role of communication with Italy and travels there, undertaken by many foreigners in the period between 1350 and 1600, which undoubtedly contributed to their acquaintance with humanist learning. Taking into account the fact that the majority of these visitors to Italy consisted of students continuing their studies of medicine, law and the humanities there, it is not surprising that through such an intellectual network the phenomenon of humanism was so easily transferred to other European countries. In addition, it is worth mentioning that humanism outside Italy was spread by the many Italian humanists teaching at foreign universities, eventually leading to a restructuring of European education and a turn towards the study of humanities (*studia humanitatis*), and more in particular to that of the ancient traditions and culture of Rome and Greece. The editions and manuscripts of the Italian humanists circulating throughout Europe also played an important role in the process.[12] However, for the purposes of this research we will focus only on the insufficiently explored role of the works written by Italian humanists that could have influenced certain historiographical models of urban and national history (or even their imitations) outside of Italy – particularly in Croatia.

Humanism was an international phenomenon which rapidly spread throughout Europe. Despite the fact that humanists from different parts of Europe shared an enthusiasm for Antiquity and the *studia humanitatis*, while

52-79, at p. 63. NOVAKOVIĆ, "Latinsko pjesništvo", p. 66; GLAVIČIĆ, "Hrvatski latinizam", pp. 408-409. More on the issue of humanism's relationship to the vernacular: J. HANKINS, "Humanism in the vernacular: The case of Leonardo Bruni", in: *Humanism and Creativity in the Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Ronald G. Witt*, ed. C.S. CELENZA (Leiden and Boston, 2006), pp. 11-29; F. WAQUET, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign* (London and New York, 2001), pp. 42-43.

[12] KRISTELLER, "The European diffusion", pp. 2-10; R. BLACK, "The origins of humanism", in: *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, ed. A. MAZZOCCO (Leiden and Boston, 2006: *Brill's Studies in Intellectual History* 143), pp. 37-71, at pp. 37-41; D. ABULAFIA, "The diffusion of the Italian Renaissance: Southern Italy and beyond", in: *Renaissance Historiography*, ed. J. WOOLFSON (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 27-52.

also trying to imitate the cultural achievements of Italian humanism, the local manifestations of humanism and the Renaissance in various European countries were by no means copies. Instead, they were largely determined by adjusting the Italian humanist model to local circumstances.

Writing about the history of one's city could certainly be counted as one of the fundamental issues of Italian medieval historiography, which was marked by a rich production of works written in the form of chronicles. These were charged with civic pride and had a tendency to exalt the events of the past and present of a particular city (such as the chronicles written by Giovanni Villani (1276-1348) and his contemporaries).[13] It is important to emphasise the close relationship between the medieval city communes and the chronicles, up to the point that the former conditioned the latter. It seems that without city communes, we would not have the chronicles from which humanist historiography arose a few centuries later. These chronicles were similar to those written by Leonardo Bruni (*c.* 1369-1444) (*Historiarum Fiorentini populi libri XII*), Flavio Biondo (1392-1463) and their contemporaries, as well as their successors, such as Gianozzo Manetti (1396-1459), Matteo Palmieri (1406-1475) and others, who introduced the criticism of historical sources to the historians of their time.[14]

Although the primary role of the chronicle was merely to make a detailed, and only rarely critical record of past events, this type of text undoubtedly contributed to the formation of the Italian humanist historiography of the Quattrocento, even determining some of its canons. Among these, perhaps the most important was that the city commune was understood as a legitimate and independent political entity.[15] In addition, it should be noted that some Italian chronicles were written after several cities successfully merged with the territory of an 'Italian' state.[16] But the crucial moment when Italian historiography definitely recognised that a single city as such no longer provided an adequate framework for the historical narrative of events began with the father of mod-

[13] Cf. G. ORTALLI, "Aspetti e motivi di cronachistica romagnola", *Studi romagnoli* 24 (1973), pp. 349-387; E. COCHRANE, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1981), p. 9.

[14] COCHRANE, *Historians and Historiography*, pp. 26-27.

[15] COCHRANE, *Historians and Historiography*, p. 60.

[16] G. ORTALLI, "Cronisti e storici del quattrocento e del cinquecento", in: *Storia di Vicenza* ed. A. BROGLIO, 3.1, *L'eta della Repubblica Veneta (1404-1797)* (Vicenza, 1989), pp. 353-380, at p. 354; e.g. *Commentari della vita et gesti dell'illustrissimo Frederico Duca d'Urbino* by Pierantonio Paltroni (15th c.); cf. COCHRANE, *Historians and Historiography*, p. 123.

ern Italian historiography – Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540) with his *Storie Fiorentine* (1378-1509) and *Storia d'Italia* (1494-1534). Among the historians there were also those who, like Sertorio Orsato, were imbued with a strong local patriotism for their home town, even equating it with the homeland.[17]

During the age of humanism historiographical models evolved. Thus during the Cinquecento, the problem emerged of writing historical works which actually described historical events within the smaller political units that had been incorporated eventually into one great historiographical whole. A good example is the work by Cipriano Manente and Carlo Sigonio (1520-1584) (*De Regno Italiae*, 1580).[18] Writing about regional history from a local perspective denoted a mature phase of development in Italian humanist historiography, which had come a long way since the medieval chronicle, and was eventually echoed outside Italy.

## *Examples of the Search for Urban Identity in Croatian Humanist Historiography: Writing about the Past of a Commune or a Region*

When looking at the main characteristics of the historical genre in humanism from a modern perspective, we observe that the historical works of the Croatian humanists, created during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were marked by the strong influence of ancient and medieval texts, but with an emphasis on the exposition of historical events of the writers' own time. Similar to the features of other European humanistic historiography (i.e. Italian, Hungarian, German, Czech, Polish, etc.) the Croatian historiography of early humanism was also strongly characterised by a non-critical approach to narrative historical sources such as medieval annals and chronicles, which resulted in various imaginative historical constructions about a country's past.[19]

[17] COCHRANE, *Historians and Historiography*, p. 295; G. BENZONI, "La storiografia e l'erudizione storico-antiquaria: Gli storici muncipali", in: *Storia della cultura veneta*, 4, *Il seicento dalla controriforma all fine della repubblica*, ed. G. ARNALDI, 2 vols. (Vicenza, 1985), 2, pp. 68-03, at p. 90-91.

[18] COCHRANE, *Historians and Historiography*, pp. 308-309.

[19] M. KURELAC, "Hrvatska historiografija", in: *Hrvatska i Europa*, 3, *Barok i prosvjetiteljstvo (XVII-XVIII stoljeće)*, ed. I. GOLUB (Zagreb 2003), pp. 301-314, at p. 301; D. MIHELIČ, "Retorični dodatki v interpretacijah humanističnega zgodovinopisja o prostoru med Alpami in Jadranom v zgodnjem srednjem veku", *Acta Histriae* 17 (2009), pp. 23-42, at p. 24; T. KLANICZAY, "Hungary", in: *The Renaissance in National Context*, pp. 164-179, at p. 173.

In order to better present the typical structure and themes of historical works of humanism in Dalmatia, the general characteristics of such histories will be analysed based on a sample of works by several Croatian humanists: Juraj Šižgorić (1445-1509) from Šibenik, Vinko Pribojević (mid-fifteenth century-after 1532) from Hvar, and Mavro Orbini (mid-sixteenth century-1611) from Dubrovnik.[20] A more detailed analysis of this issue will be attempted for the unpublished work *De rebus Dalmaticis* by Dinko Zavorović (*c.* 1540-1608) from Šibenik as an example.

Even at a first glance the titles of works by the aforementioned historiographers reveal the main genre framework of their histories. For example, the geographic-ethnographic work by Šižgorić carries the indicative title *On the Placement of Illyria and the City of Šibenik* (*De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici*) (1487), while Pribojević's speech, printed in 1532 in Venice, is entitled *On the Origin and the Glory of the Slavs* (*De origine successibusque Slavorum*), and from Orbini we have *The Kingdom of the Slavs* (*Il Regno de gli Slavi*) (1601).[21]

All the aforementioned works – if not already in their titles then further in the text – clearly reveal their concentric narrative form, starting with a particular Dalmatian commune before branching out into the general region (Dalmatia / Illyricum). This suggests that writing about a broader, regional history from the perspective of a communal, local community was very common in Croatian humanism.

As far as urban identity in the works of Dalmatian humanists is concerned, it seems, according to the previously described atmosphere and characteristics of Croatian humanism, that writing historical works in fact entailed an author's search for the identity of his own people. In the pre-national period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the majority of the aforementioned historical works were written, this actually meant a search for the arguments for identification with a broader Slavic ethnic community attached to a certain territory and language.[22]

[20] On the editions and translations of the most important literary works by Croatian Neo-Latin writers from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, cf. A. KADIĆ, "Croatian Renaissance", *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959), pp. 28-35.

[21] ŠIŽGORIĆ, *O smještaju Ilirije i o gradu Šibeniku*, ed. and trans. V. GORTAN (Šibenik, 1981); PRIBOJEVIĆ, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena*, ed. M. KURELAC, trans. V. GORTAN and P. KNEZOVIĆ (Zagreb, 1997); Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, ed. F. ŠANJEK, trans. S. HUSIĆ (Zagreb, 1999).

[22] M. KURELAC, "Historiografske koncepcije Franje Glavinića", in: *Zbornik radova o*

Among the historical works of Croatian humanists we often encounter the case that a model of belonging to a wider territorial Slavic environment is based on the matrix of the commune, which expands to include Dalmatia, and finally the Slavic environment. In addition, they often argue their right to affiliation with a certain environment by providing further evidence of the uninterrupted existence of the Slavic population in a particular area. A key element of proof for the existence of ancient Slavic people in Dalmatia for most Dalmatian humanists was the 'Illyrian language', which in their historiographical works became a basic means of identification, preferably corresponding to the territorial diffusion of their people.[23] Under the influence of specific and quite difficult historical circumstances, including the noteworthy Ottoman threat to Europe, the 'Illyrian language' obtained special ethnic, territorial and even religious meaning in addition to its primary linguistic function.[24]

It remains to be seen how this territorial-linguistic model worked in practice or in the historiographical works of the aforementioned Dalmatian humanists.

### *Juraj Šižgorić (Georgius Sisgoreus, 1445-1509)*

At the time when Šižgorić's *De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici* was written, Šibenik was already suffering the impact of Ottoman influence. Such difficult political circumstances obviously encouraged even stronger patriotism among the Croatian humanist historians. It is not surprising that one of the their most important tasks during the times of the Ottoman threat was the twin task of finding an adequate historical model to support the idea of the continuous existence of the Slavs along the eastern Adriatic coast, as well as writing a historical work which would provide sufficient proof of the political identity of their fellow countrymen.

In the sense of composition, Šižgorić's concept of writing history starts from the broadest geographical entity possible, Illyricum, and then, after dealing with its constituent part, Dalmatia, arrives at the main topic: his birthplace,

*Franji Glaviniću*, ed. V. Frkin *et al*. (Zagreb, 1989), pp. 237-270, at p. 239.

[23] B. Kuntić-Makvić, "Tradicija o našim krajevima u antičkom razdoblju kod dalmatinskih pisaca XVI i XVII stoljeća", in: *Živa antika* 34 (1984), pp. 155-164, at p. 155.

[24] M.S. Iovine, "The 'Illyrian language' and the language question among the southern Slavs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", in: *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, ed. R. Picchio *et al*. (New Haven, 1984), pp. 101-156, at p. 102.

the town of Šibenik. From there it gets more and more detailed. Thus we can read about the borders of Šibenik, the Šibenik Valley (*ager Sibenici*), the islands of Šibenik, places near Šibenik as well as places within the city walls. Notably, Šibenik's belonging to the wider Slavic environment in this work is guaranteed by the expected inclusion of its inhabitants – the Dalmatians – among the nations which spoke the Illyrian language.[25] The very title of the third chapter from *De situ* – "*Illyria nomen commune omnium huius linguae nationum*" – testifies to the aforementioned model of political self-identification among the Dalmatians. Following the well-known humanist historiographical approach, Juraj Šižgorić refers mostly to ancient historians (Strabo, Appianus, Pliny, Virgil, Ovid, Ptolemy and others), intending to prove the ancient origin of the inhabitants of Dalmatia. The following quotation from his *De situ* provides a good example of how the authority of the ancient historians (in this case Appian's *Illyriká*) supported Dalmatian humanist theory:

> *Communi vocabulo omnes istos Illyrios arbitrantur, licet diversi separatim propriis nominentur appellationibus, ut scribit Appianus, sicuti Pannones ... Boii etiam, Istri, Liburni, Curetes et Dalmatae*.[26]

### *Vinko Pribojević (Vincentius Priboevius, from the Mid-Fifteenth Century to after 1532)*

The Dominican Vinko Pribojević was the originator of the panslavist idea among the South Slavs. This idea was based mostly on ancient narrative sources (Pliny, Appian, Strabo, Tacitus, Thomas Archidiaconus,[27] Marulus,[28] Faustus Verantius,[29] Sabellico,[30] Biondo[31] and others) as well as on Sarmatian humanist historiography. Pribojević was the first among the humanist historians to present a new view on the history of the Croats and Slavs, elaborating

[25] KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ, "Tradicija o našim krajevima", p. 157.

[26] ŠIŽGORIĆ, *O smještaju Ilirije*, p. 18.

[27] ARHIĐAKON, *Historia Salonitana*, ed. and trans. O. PERIĆ *et al*. (Split, 2003).

[28] MARULIĆ, *Regum Dalmatie atque Croatiae gesta* (Amsterdam, 1666).

[29] VRANČIĆ, *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum Latinae, Italicae, Germanicae, Dalmaticae, et Vngaricae* (Venice, 1595).

[30] SABELLICO, *Historia rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita ad obitum ducis Marci Barbadici* (Venice, 1478).

[31] BIONDO, *Italia illustrata per regiones seu provincias* (Rome, 1474).

the theory according to which the Slavs originated from the Illyrians.[32] In his *De origine succesibusque Slavorum* one can also notice the well-known tripartite composition, which corresponds to the concentric construction of the Slavic environment. Pribojević begins with the description of the broader Slavic historical context, afterwards writing about the history of Dalmatia, before ending with the history of his birthplace, Hvar. He calls the language "Illyrian" or Dalmatian, and at the beginning of his work he says of himself that he is "Dalmatian and thus Illyrian, and in the end Slav" ("*Verum quia Dalmata et proinde Illyrius ac demum Slauus*").[33] In this work we can identify a particular focus on the model of territorial-linguistic identification at the level of the city, region, and the broader environment which evolved from the idea presented at the beginning of Pribojević's speech:

> *[Tria in hac oratione agenda]*
>
> *... coram Slauis de Slauorum fortunis sermonem habere statui, ideo originem gloriamque ac nominis Slauonici generis interpretationem primi in loco in medium adducam, Dalmatiae deinde, quae haud spernenda Slauorum nationis portio est, euentus perstringam, postremo huius nostrae uetustissimae ciuitatis situm successusque depromam*.[34]

### *Mavro Orbini (Mauro Orbini, from the Middle of the Sixteenth Century to 1611)*

*Il Regno de gli Slavi*, the work by the Benedictine Mavro Orbini from Dubrovnik, also starts from a broader context before narrowing to the history of the Croats (and the history of Illyricum and the city of Dubrovnik), Serbs and Bulgarians. The main topics about which Orbini writes are the empire of the Slavs, the kings of Dalmatia,[35] the royal dynasties of Bosnia, Serbia and Bulgaria, and the history of Dubrovnik.

It can be concluded that Orbini closely connects the past of the South Slavs, particularly those in the hinterland of Dubrovnik, with the history of that

[32] M. Kurelac, "Vinko Pribojević i njegovo djelo", in: Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena*, pp. 9-32, at p. 10.

[33] Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, p. 56.

[34] Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, p. 56.

[35] This part of Orbini's work includes the integral text of *Sclavorum Regnum* by Pop Dukljanin; cf. Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, pp. 271-305.

city.[36] His work deals with the history of Slavs, and particularly with those Slavs who inhabit Dalmatia and Illyricum, to which his home town of Dubrovnik also belongs. In the methodological sense, Orbini's work reflects the spirit of the late Renaissance and humanism, which was still lacking a sense of historical criticism and primarily focused on praising the South Slavs – especially concerning the history of Croats, Serbs and Bulgarians.[37] Based on the model of historical works written by his predecessors and contemporaries (Tomas Arhidiaconus, Marcus Marulus, Vincentius Priboevius, Antonio Bonfini,[38] Maciej Miechow,[39] Pietro Francesco Giambullari,[40] Albert Krantz,[41] etc.), Orbini likewise developed the idea of incorporating his home town Dubrovnik and identifying it with the broader Slavic context.

### *Dinko Zavorović (Dominicus Zavoreus,* c. *1540-1608)*

The opus of the Dalmatian humanist and historian Dinko Zavorović is a good example of the synthesis of communal and regional views on historical events in Dalmatia. In order to better understand his historiographical approach, it is necessary to point out several important facts. Zavorović's historical works are characterised by a powerful anti-Venetian attitude. This can serve as a good starting point for consideration of the influence of his political views on the interpretation of the issue of municipal and regional history. Zavorović's first historical work was *The Treatise on the Matters of Šibenik* (*Trattato sopra le cose di Sebenico*) (1585). In that municipal history of Šibenik, which was never published, for the first time he presented his criticism of Venetian power over the city. His second work, the also unpublished *De rebus Dalmaticis* (1602), could be described as a communal-regional history, based on the historiographical and methodological principles of his first work on the history of Šibenik.[42]

[36] F. ŠANJEK, "Povijesni pogledi Mavra Orbinija", in: ORBINI, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, pp. 7-54, at pp. 28-29.

[37] ŠANJEK, "Povijesni pogledi", p. 19.

[38] BONFINI, *Rerum Hungaricarum decades tres* (Basel, 1543).

[39] MIECHOWITA, *De duabus Sarmatiis, Asiana et Europiana, et de contentis in eis* (Augsburg, 1518).

[40] GIAMBULLARI, *Istoria d'Europa (800-919*) (Venice, 1566).

[41] KRANTZ, *Regnorum aquilonarium Daniae, Sueciae et Norvegiae Chronicon* (Strasbourg, 1546).

[42] I. KURELAC, *Dinko Zavorović: Šibenski humanist i povjesničar* (Šibenik, 2008).

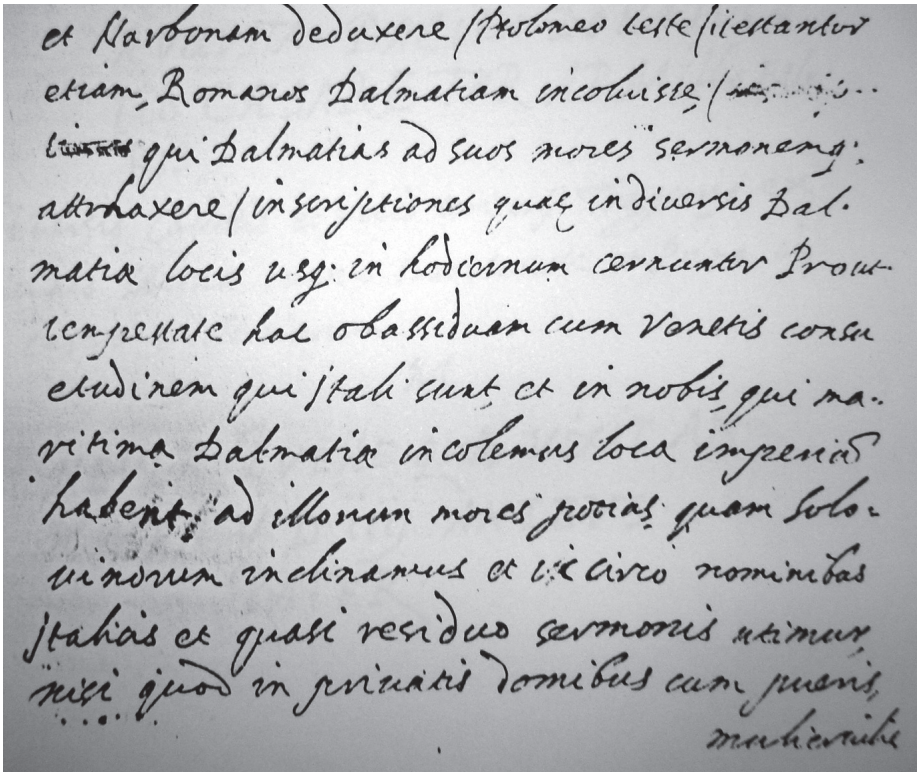

**Fig. 1** *De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo*, MS Venice, Bibliotheca Marciana, Cl. X. Cod. XL-3652 (saec. XVII), f. 19v.

Before we move on to examples from urban history, we will briefly examine Zavorović's attitude towards the spoken language in Dalmatia, which was, as we shall see, also strongly coloured by anti-Venetian sentiment. In his *On the History of Dalmatia* he explicitly states that Dalmatia had since ancient times been under strong Roman and later Italian influence, while expressing his regret that the Italian language has almost replaced the Slavic language (see also Figs. 1-2):

> *Ii testantur etiam Romanos Dalmatiam incoluisse, qui Dalmatas ad suos mores sermonemque attraxere (inscriptiones quae in diversis Dalmatiae locis usque in hodiernum cernuntur) prout tempestate hac ob assiduam cum Venetis consuetudinem, qui Itali sunt, et in nobis, qui maritima Dalmatiae incolemus loca, impe-*

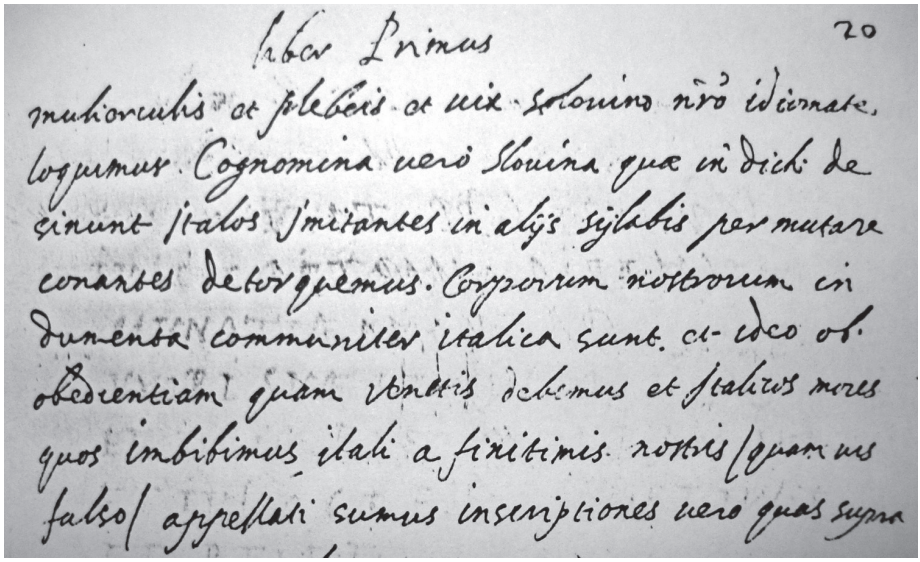

**Fig. 2** *De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo*, MS, f. 20r.

> *ium habent, ad illorum mores potius quam Slovinorum inclinamus et iccirco nominibus Italicis et quasi residuo sermonis utimur, nisi quod in privatis domibus cum pueris, mulierculis et plebeis et vix Slovino nostro idiomate loquimur. Cognomina vero Slovina quae in dich desinunt, Italos imitantes in aliis syllabis permutare conantes detorquemus. Corporum nostrorum indumenta communiter Italica sunt et ideo ob oboedientiam quam Venetis debemus et Italicos mores quos imbibimus Itali a finitimis nostris (quamvis falso) appellati sumus*. (MS, ff. 19v-20r)[43]

This example is important, because it testifies to the centuries-old tradition of Roman culture and Latin language in Dalmatia. From the quoted part of the text, the importance of the Italian language at the regional level is obvious, but at the same time, on the local level of the city commune, speaking the Slavic language was also a necessity.

But let us go back to the analysis of the manuscript of *De rebus Dalmaticis*. Generally speaking, it can be described as a systematic view of historical events in Dalmatia from Antiquity to the year 1437 from the perspective of a Dalmatian city commune. The analysis of this work confirms the structural model previously established, and in it we can also identify the typical layers

[43] The Latin text is transcribed from the MS of *De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo*, MS Venice, Bibliotheca Marciana, Cl. X. Cod. XL-3652 (saec. XVII).

of historical works by Dalmatian humanists: the level of the town as a microcosm enveloped by the level of the wider region, Dalmatia, as a macrocosm. In Zavorović's work this principle is reflected by the fact that his historiographical view of historical events in Dalmatia is based on selective historical episodes concerning Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor, on the basis of which he seeks to create a general picture of the political conditions in Dalmatia, and all this in order to define Dalmatia's position towards the Venetian Republic, the Kingdom of Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire. Since Zavorović was opposed to the politics of the Republic of Venice, it is not surprising that, apart from epigraphic sources and archival documents, his main written source for the history of the Dalmatian cities was *Rerum Hungaricarum decades* by the Italian historian Antonio Bonfini, who was employed at the court of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus. In order to better explain Zavorović's model of writing about a regional history from the local perspective, I will quote the two most important examples from the fourth book of *De rebus Dalmaticis*, in which Zavorović, borrowing from Bonfini, describes how king Coloman besieged the city of Zadar, in 1105, and afterwards other Dalmatian cities as well (Trogir, Šibenik and Split), giving them privileges:

> *Seque quum hi voluerint omnes a misera Venetorum servitute libentissime vindicaturum. Quare ad unum fere omnes Dalmatae a Venetis defecere atque in primis Iadrenses. Qui eiecto Venetorum magistratu, missum a rege praesidium admisere (eodem Bonfinio teste et Petro Iustiniano). Horum exemplo caeteri ducti, Venetos undique exegerunt. Colomanus auxiliaribus copiis Dalmatiam compleverat, quibus Dalmatae freti subito defecerunt. Rex mox edicto, veluti ante promiserat, perpetua libertate Dalmatiae donata,(Bonfinius et diplomata testantur).* (MS, f. 79v)

This is how *De rebus Dalmaticis* describes Coloman's seizure of Trogir and Šibenik:

> *Post haec vero rex ingressus Tragurium. Qui cum Sibenico et caeteris oppidis Dalmatiae prospectis signis ad Hungaricam fidem redierunt (Bonfinio teste). Dona Traguriensi ecclesiae, quae a Dalmatiae regibus et a Salonitanis principibus promeruerat, ampliavit et suo privilegio confirmationis munimine confirmavit et vale faciens praesulis sancta accepta benedictione discessit. Colomanus pacata Dalmatia dispositisque ubique praesidiis, prout loci cuiusque conditio postulabat, in Pannoniam se recepit et quum accepisset quondam Ordephalum, eiectis e*

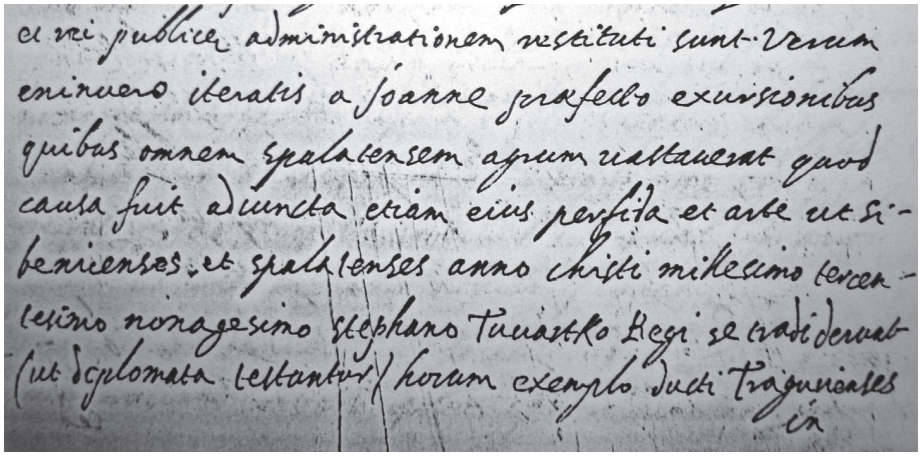

**Fig. 3** *De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo*, MS, f. 125r.

> *Dalmatia Ungaris, reversum in patriam haud mediocrem Dalmatiae nobilitatis numerum secum abduxisse captivum et triumphi speciem mirabili pompa explicit eum praetulisse aequiore fortuna potius in Venetorum non de Dalmatis et Corvatis, ut ille sed de captivis, hostibus cum oppidatim, tum vicatim rite triumphavit (eodem Bonfinio teste). Multi quoque illius provinciae nobiles et plerique reguli, non invito rege, raso capite, velut in novam libertatem asserti, ante triumphum processere, ut rex non tam de victis Venetis, quam liberatis Dalmatis rite triumphare videretur. Quare hoc praeclarissimo tantum facinore, Colomanum immortalitate dignum omnes censuere*. (MS, ff. 85v- 86v)

The following episode from *De rebus Dalmaticis* describes how the citizens of Šibenik, Trogir and Split tried to defect from Hungary to the Bosnian king Tvrtko. But Luka Vitturi, a nobleman from Trogir, strived to dissuade them from such a decision and to encourage them to persevere in their loyalty to the Hungarian king (see also Figs. 3-4):

> *Sibenicenses et Spalatenses anno Christi millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo Stephano Tuvartko [!] regi se tradiderunt (ut diplomata testantur). Horum exemplo ducti, Tragurienses in publica eorum contione pro deficiendo ad Stephanum regem oratores destinarunt, ibique Lucas Victuri [!], haud ignobili genere ortus, uti fidelis Ungaricae coronae, ne deficerent cives, hortatus est ac tandem sollemniter edixit et de edictione publicum instrumentum conficiendum iussit (ut publica documenta testantur)*. (MS, f. 125r-v)

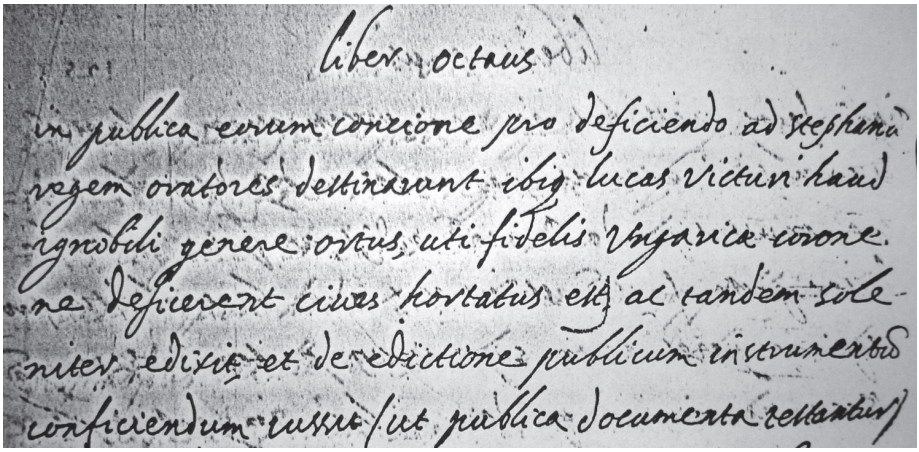
liber octaus
in publica eorum concione pro deficiendo ad stephanū
regem oratores destinarunt ibiq lucas Victuri haud
ignobili genere ortus, uti fidelis Vngaricæ corone
ne deficerent ciues hortatus est, ac tandem sole-
niter edixit, et de edictione publicum instrumentū
conficiendum iussit (ut publica documenta testantur)

**Fig. 4** *De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo*, MS, f. 125v.

Zavorović was writing about the time when Bosnia was under the rule of king Tvrtko (1353-1391) and reached the peak of its power, in a certain sense becoming a nucleus for much of Croatia. This part of his text testifies to the fact that Zavorović was writing from the perspective of the quoted document, in which his relative Luka Vitturi is mentioned as a supporter of the Hungarian king Sigismund (1387-1437). This leads to the conclusion that, through his *De rebus Dalmaticis*, the historian from Šibenik was able indirectly to express his own political attitude, and even his own sympathies towards the Croatian-Hungarian political option.

Detailed analysis reveals that Zavorović purposefully chose quotations from the written sources that clearly testify to the urban popular resistance towards Venice and its simultaneous sympathies towards the Kingdom of Hungary. Writing about the history of Dalmatian cities became a lever for expressing personal political views, which Zavorović then transferred to Dalmatia.

## *Conclusion*

It can be concluded that for Dalmatian humanist writers, writing about the history of their respective cities played an important role in terms of establishing a nucleus for further historiographical considerations. The question of urban identity in the historiographical works of Dalmatian humanism is usually

interpreted within the genre of communal history. Communal history as one of the means of writing about the past existed in two forms: either as the core of more complex historical works on Dalmatia and its relationship with the regional political forces, or as separate historical works about a particular city. But it is often the case that the author of a communal history also tried to write a regional history, mostly based on elements of the communal history.

The writing of communal history by Dalmatian historiographers did not simply mean accepting the current trends established by Italian humanist historiography. Nevertheless, the latter were very often the model they used as a thematic starting point for proving the continuity of belonging to an Illyrian or Slavic environment, as well as for launching their own political views.

*Part III*

# Individuals Resorting to Writing: *Memoria* and Business

# Spoken and Written Words in Testaments: Orality and Literacy in Last Wills of Medieval Transylvanian Burghers*

MÁRIA LUPESCU MAKÓ

> I, Magdalene, the wife of the late honourable George, mason of Kolozsvár, and Franciscan *confratrissa* of the Virgin Mary Franciscan Friary in the same Kolozsvár, founded, considering with mature mind how useless and how false is the glory of the world, how dangerous and how uncertain it is in all things, being frightened that my hour of death will come suddenly on the grounds of illness, or, being in death agony, I will not be able to talk, or I will lose my senses from which, God forbid, while I am still alive, sound in my body and my soul, I dispose and enumerate all my movable and immovable goods which God has given to me, and I make this testament concerning them in the manner which follows: ...[1]

Thus runs the typical introductory formula to a will written in Transylvania during the first half of the sixteenth century, in this case composed in 1531 in

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[1] *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez* [Cartulary for the first volume of the history of Cluj], ed. E. JAKAB (Buda, 1870), pp. 372-373.

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 271-297.

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Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) by the mason George's wealthy widow, Magdalene, Franciscan *confratrissa*. Magdalene's will continues for almost two thousand words, first detailing the generous gifts she would make to her burial place, the Franciscan friary of Cluj, the town's parish church, other mendicants, and certain charities. Although I will return to her decision to make a will, my principal concern here is not with Magdalene's religious sensibilities or with the issue of her gifts and their significance, but the manner which she considered to be appropriate for making her last will and testament.

In my contribution, starting from the will of Magdalene, I shall focus on the analysis of the last wills of citizens of the medieval town of Cluj within a larger Transylvanian urban context. In connection with this, I intend to find out when and to what end the citizens of Cluj made their last wills; what the role of literacy was, and to what extent it was able to take over the roles of orality; whether there was any kind of legal difference between last wills orally communicated or set down in writing; and whose interest it served to record in written form a testament previously communicated orally. I ask all these questions while being aware of the fact that the connections between orality and literacy were perceived very soon, and though the role of literacy has consistently been increasing, it never became exclusive. The oral formulae and practice of testaments has been preserved to this day both in the making and execution of last wills. Nevertheless, we need to confront the mutual relationship between the spheres of orality and literacy.[2] The reciprocity of orality and literacy is reflected in different respects, that are sometimes interwoven with each other. We have to take into account that our perception of the oral world of medieval testaments is completely based on written testaments. Therefore, the knowledge that can be deduced from an analysis of last wills is often unconsciously or even intentionally narrowed by those who fixed it by writing them down. Some of these testaments bear witness to the use of written documents in situations that were generally characterised by the spoken word and by the use of the vernacular. Other last wills reflect elements of originally direct speech in the vernacular, translated into Latin, and mostly embedded in situations of communication that were reconstructed from memory. Consequently, last wills have been a good opportunity for the co-existence and perpetuation of oral and written communication in a situation unavoidable for the

[2] F.H. BÄUML, "Verschriftlichte Mündlichkeit und vermündlichte Schriftlichkeit", in: *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. U. SCHAEFFER (Tübingen, 1993: *ScripOralia* 53), pp. 254-266.

maker of the will and decisive for the survivors. Before attempting to answer our questions, let us familiarise ourselves with the setting for our story's plot.

## *Cluj, an Industrious Town in the Middle Ages*

In the time of Magdalene, Cluj counted as the most dynamic town of the voivodate of Transylvania, the eastern province of the Hungarian Kingdom. The roots of its urban development can be traced back to the fourteenth century, when the Angevin King Charles I (1288-1342) re-appropriated the settlement mentioned as *civitas*, from the bishop of Transylvania and offered privileges to its inhabitants, mentioned as "*hospitum et Saxonum nostrorum*".[3] As a sign of their self-government the inhabitants elected their own judge (*villicus*), who was in charge of dispensing justice together with the royal judge (*iudex regis*) representing the person of the king. In addition, the inhabitants of the town were also exempted from paying customs on the entire territory of the country, and were free to elect their priests. This was not a particular privilege of Cluj, since it was already contained in the Andreanum, the charter granting privileges to the Saxons of Transylvania issued in 1224, and is also known as a privilege of other settlements.[4] This should be emphasised in the case of Cluj, because in the course of the development of its self-government the order of elections and eligibility was rendered in such a way that both nations living in the town, Saxons and Hungarians, had an equal share in it.

It is a well-known fact that the development of the towns of the Hungarian kingdom followed two directions: the path of the settlements of the royal estates, which – with the help of economic factors in addition to privileges granted to them – led to the emergence of royal towns, and the path of certain settlements' development under the jurisdiction of the landowner, which, if the

[3] *Oklevéltár*, 1, pp. 31-33; *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, 1-7, ed. F. ZIMMERMANN, K. WERNER *et al*. (Hermannstadt, then Bucharest, 1892-1991), 1, pp. 319-320; *Documente privind istoria României, C, Transilvania* [Documents for the history of Romania, C, Transylvania], *veacul XI-XIII,* 1-2, *veacul XIV*, 1-4, ed. I. IONAŞCU, L. LĂZĂRESCU-IONESCU, *et al*. (Bucharest, 1953), *veacul XIV*, 1, pp. 251-253, 413-415.

[4] *Oklevéltár*, 1, pp. 9-10; *Urkundenbuch*, 1, pp. 32-35; *Documente*, *veacul XI-XIII*, 1, pp. 208-210, 383-384; A. KISS, "Kolozsvár város önkormányzati fejlődése az 1458-as 'unióig' és kiteljesedése az 1568-as királyi ítélettel" [The development of the self-governing of Cluj town until the 1458 'union' and its fulfilment of the 1568 royal judgment], in: ID., *Más források – más értelmezések* [Other sources – Other interpretations] (Marosvásárhely, 2003), p.160.

conditions were favourable, led to them receiving the status of market towns (*oppida*). The road taken by Cluj was the former.

After the granting of privileges by royal charter in 1316, the process of urban development in Cluj began. However, the leading role in the economic life of the town was still played by agriculture, and the wealthiest citizens were those who owned much land or forest and were involved in the military. The first town patricians of Cluj came from this stratum of armed warriors, leading a military life, drawing themselves nearer to the nobility, and controlling the town government. In the late fourteenth century the guild system began to flourish, and with it trade, which played an important role in the development of a new, wealthier stratum of townspeople. As a result of these processes, the landowner patricians leading a military life were replaced at the turn of the fifteenth century by a new ruling class, the town burghers, a highly urbanised class consisting of bankers, merchants, and vineyard owners.[5] This group was characterised by their much greater ambition of enlarging the privileges of the town than that shown by the old patricians. Also, making use of the opportunities offered by Sigismund of Luxembourg's (1368-1437) town development policy, the town received several charters granting it privileges in matters of town development and administration.[6] As a result of these efforts, the king elevated the town of Cluj to the rank of free royal town, with all its privileges: he allowed the fourfold-enlarged territory of the town to be encircled with new walls, removed it from the jurisdiction of the *comes* (*ispán*) and the voivode, allowing it later to become independent of the higher court of appeal of Bistriţa (Beszterce, Bistritz) and Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt). The town perfected its self-governing system by electing twelve jurors and the judge. In order to prevent the power from again becoming concentrated in the hands of an exclusive circle of people, as had happened during the old town administration, the new class of patricians created a higher council, consisting of sixty

[5] J. SZŰCS, *Városok és kézművesség a XV. századi Magyarországon* [Towns and handicraft in fifteenth-century Hungary] (Budapest, 1955), p. 329.

[6] *Oklevéltár*, 1, pp. 117-126, 129-139; *Urkundenbuch*, 3, pp. 323-326, 346-364, 366-368. See also L. MAKKAI, "Társadalom és nemzetiség a középkori Kolozsváron" [Society and nationality in medieval Cluj], *Kolozsvári Szemle* 2 (1943), pp. 87-111, 190-215, at pp. 209-210; SZŰCS, *Városok és kézművesség*, p. 326; KISS, "Kolozsvár város önkormányzati fejlődése", p. 163; M. LUPESCU MAKÓ, "Der Ausgleich von Klausenburg 1458", in: *Klausenburg: Wege einer Stadt und ihrer Menschen in Europa*, ed. U. BURGER and R. GRÄF (Cluj-Napoca, 2007), pp. 39-50, at p. 42.

councillors,[7] and, similar to other European examples of town development, the legislation they produced in fact controlled the judge and the small council.[8]

The town administration of Cluj, now having the rank of free royal town and enjoying well-organised management, came almost entirely into the hands of the Saxon bourgeoisie, evidently as a result of their greater economic power, but supposedly also through the expropriation of the privileges for their own purposes.[9] The Germanisation of the town administration of Cluj due to the appearance of the new patricians in the course of the fifteenth century led to serious frictions between the Saxon and Hungarian citizens.[10] The hostility was ended by the so-called union brought about by Governor Michael Szilágyi in 1458. In the spirit of this mutual agreement, the Saxons and the increasing number of Hungarians were represented by an equal number (50-50) of councillors in the city council, which now counted one hundred members instead of sixty, and both nations had an equal share in the incomes and goods of the town.[11] However, the details were still unclarified, giving rise to further conflicts. The debate which had previously taken place between nations was now reset on a new social level, as the stratum of craftsmen, becoming increasingly aware of their social importance, claimed its permanent representation in the town administration. The solution came from the royal court. King Matthias (1443-1490) issued a charter in 1486 that empowered the citizens of Cluj to follow the right of Buda in electing the judge, the jurors, and the town officials.[12] This practically meant that half of the council members came from

[7] *Urkundenbuch*, 5, p. 81.

[8] In Vienna already in 1356 appeared, besides the inner council consisting of the judge and patricians, the external council of forty members, all of whom were guild members. Thus a larger representational act was performed. MAKKAI, "Társadalom és nemzetiség", pp. 208-210; F. OPLL, "Preßburg und Wien im Mittelalter – Unterschiede, Parallelen und Begegnungen," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, N.F. 59 (1993), pp. 177-196, at pp. 183-185.

[9] A clear sign of the interpretation of the privileges for the benefit of the Saxon nation is that in a royal commandment issued in September 1436 by Sigismund of Luxembourg concerning the screening of the goods, privileges, liberties, and customs of the Cluj people, instead of the regular "*hospes*" only "*Saxones*" was used. KISS, "Kolozsvár város önkormányzati fejlődése", p. 164.

[10] MAKKAI, "Társadalom és nemzetiség", p. 214; SZŰCS, *Városok és kézművesség*, pp. 329-330.

[11] *Oklevéltár*, 1, pp. 192-193; *Urkundenbuch*, 6, pp. 2-3; MAKKAI, "Társadalom és nemzetiség", pp. 204, 214; SZŰCS, *Városok és kézművesség*, p. 330; KISS, "Kolozsvár város önkormányzati fejlődése", p. 165; LUPESCU MAKÓ, "Der Ausgleich von Klausenburg", p. 46.

[12] *Oklevéltár*, 1, p. 275. The premise of this were the events from 1439, when after a revolt of the Buda plebeians, an important decision was made concerning the Hungarian-German representation on the town council. For the first time the larger council, consisting equally of

among the patricians, and the other half from among the guild members. This exemplary agreement came to be regarded in subsequent centuries as a real constitution, and has been used as a permanent legal frame of reference.

The other vital element of the town, besides its administrative system based on parity, was long-distance trade. Due to its new stratum of patricians, Cluj became part – already at an early stage – of a long-distance trade network encompassing all of Transylvania. One of the most important kinds of imported merchandise, spices, came to Hungary from the Black Sea ports of the Genoese. This traffic gave rise to two large trade centres: Braşov (Brassó, Kronstadt) at the entrance of the Bran (Törcsvár) pass, and Sibiu near the Turnul Roşu (Vöröstorony) pass. The two roads met at Cluj, and continued in the valley of the Crişul Repede (Sebes Körös) in the direction of Buda, in the centre of the country. As a crossroads, Cluj could control the traffic of these trade routes. In addition to trade, craftsmanship was also significant in the life of the town, and its importance is well reflected in the previously mentioned application of the right of Buda, which stipulated that a part of the 'hundredmen' (*centumviri*) had to be elected from among the members of guilds. Not accidentally, the formation of guilds grouping craftsmen with the same profession also accelerated in the second half of the fifteenth century. In the period before 1526, when the disaster of Mohács took place, twelve guilds succeeded in receiving town-enforced regulations as well.[13] Both the Cluj market, which had the staple right for merchandise coming from the Balkans,[14] and the town's flourishing craftsmanship resulted in a spectacular development of the town at

fifty Hungarians and fifty Germans, had the right to elect the twelve jurors of the small council, also divided among six Hungarians and six Germans. The judge of the town was Hungarian the one year and German the next. A. KUBINYI, "Budapest története a késői középkorban Buda elestéig (1541-ig)" [The history of Budapest in the late Middle Ages until the fall of Buda, 1541], in: *Budapest története* [The history of Budapest], ed. L. GEREVICH and D. KOSÁRY (Budapest, 1973), pp. 9, 72.

[13] A. JENEY-TÓTH, "A gyarapodó Kolozsvár: Kézművesek a 16-17. századi kincses városban" [The growth of Cluj: Artisans of the sixteenth-seventeenth-century treasures' town], *Rubicon* 15.2-3 (2005), p. 33.

[14] The staple right obliged alien merchants to stop in the town thus endowed to stay for a fixed numbers of days and to sell exclusively to the local merchants, wholesale. Depending on the nature of the staple, after the mandatory period merchants were free to travel beyond the staple town or not. For the development of the staple right see O. GÖNNENWEIN, *Das Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht* (Weimar, 1939: *Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte: Neue Folge* 11). The staple right of the Transylvanian towns in the late Middle Ages was discussed by M. PAKUCS-WILCOCKS, *Sibiu - Hermannstadt: Oriental Trade in Sixteenth Century Transylvania* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2007: *Städteforschung* A/73), pp. 10-15.

the end of the Middle Ages, which is mirrored by its number of inhabitants. If, on the basis of the 1453 register listing the taxpaying citizens of the town of Cluj and containing the names of some 530 Hungarians, the complete number of inhabitants of the town in the mid-fifteenth century is assessed as 5400 people,[15] by the end of the sixteenth century, with its 7500-8000 inhabitants this town was second in size only to Braşov (with an assessed 9000 inhabitants) in the newly formed state, the Principality of Transylvania. It must be added that, lacking similar advantages, few Transylvanian towns could have followed the spectacular development of Cluj, which by the end of the Middle Ages managed to fall into line with the two most important Saxon towns, Braşov and Sibiu.

The increasing economic power of the town can also be perceived in the modification of the townscape. By the end of the fifteenth century the new walls surrounding the town with their eighteen towers had been erected, announcing from afar to the traveller that he had arrived at a powerful and wealthy town. Construction became a customary sight on the streets: wooden houses were rapidly replaced by prestigious stone buildings, while beautiful Renaissance residences were erected in the marketplace, the centre of the town. The construction of the St. Michael parish church, dominating the town square to this day, was also finished, simultaneously with the friaries of the two mendicant orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, which greatly influenced the ecclesiastical life of late medieval Cluj. The town boasted the only mendicant friary of royal foundation in Transylvania. Towards the end of his rule, at the end of the fifteenth century, King Matthias, as a sign of his benevolence, ordered the construction of a Franciscan friary and church, which at its completion was worthy in its proportions of its founder. Art historians consider it to be the largest Gothic single-nave church of South-Eastern Europe to this day.[16] However, neither the founder, King Matthias, nor the stone carver Master George, husband of Magdalene, who took part in the building, lived to see its completion. Magdalene, who joined the third order of the Franciscans and made her testament in 1531, said that she chose her final resting place in the

[15] E. Csetri, "Kolozsvár népessége a középkortól a jelenkorig" [The population of Cluj from the Middle Ages until the present], in: *Kolozsvár 1000 éve* [1000 years of Cluj], ed. T.K. Dáné, Á. Egyed, *et al*. (Kolozsvár, 2001), p. 9.

[16] G. Entz, *A kolozsvári Farkas-utcai templom* [The church in Farkas (Kogălniceanu) Street in Cluj] (Kolozsvár, 1948); Sz. Papp, *A királyi udvar építkezései Magyarországon 1480-1515* [Building projects commissioned by the royal court in Hungary, 1480-1515] (Budapest, 2005), pp. 44-52.

newly built Virgin Mary church of the Franciscans, next to her husband. Based on the rich legacy, Master George probably was an important personality of the town. As a stone-carving master he also may have had some role in the decoration of the church. Magdalene's last will reveals many other important and interesting things about the family and the economic situation of the stone carver, about his personal religiousness and piety. Still, this is not the direction in which I should like to guide the attention of the readers; I would much rather familiarise them with that traditional practice which was well known in Cluj, Transylvania, and throughout Christian Europe: the practice which made it possible for Magdalene to formulate her own dispositions of her acquired goods at the end of her life.

## *The Development of Testamentary Law*

The development of medieval and modern testamentary practice has been analysed by legal historians in many ways from the nineteenth century onwards.[17] In the last few decades, however, testaments have been appealed to ever more in socio-historical or historical-ethnographic research. These studies have recognised and thoroughly explored the value of testaments as historical sources, and used them in a wide variety of anthropological research, both qualitative and quantitative.[18] Instead of reviewing the traits and the results of the historiography of testaments, I will rather concentrate on certain aspects of

[17] For the study of wills in a legal context see M. SHEEHAN, *The Will in Medieval England* (Toronto, 1963) and P. BAUR, *Testament und Bürgerschaft: Alltagsleben und Sachkultur im spätmittelalterlichen Konstanz* (Sigmaringen, 1989: *Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen* 31). Katalin Szende provides a good bibliography of Central European regional writings on testamentary law: K. SZENDE, "A magyarországi városi végrendeletek helye az európai joggyakorlatban (A középkori Sopron, Pozsony és Eperjes példája)" [The place of the Hungarian urban testaments in the European law practice: The cases of medieval Sopron, Bratislava, and Prešov], *Soproni Szemle* 53 (1999), pp. 347-351.

[18] K. SZENDE, *Otthon a városban: Társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* [At home in the town: Society and material culture in medieval Sopron, Bratislava and Prešov] (Budapest, 2004: *Társadalom- és Művelődéstörténeti Tanulmányok* 32), pp. 58-66 gives a thorough bibliographical survey of both the Western and Central European reference literature in connection with testaments, published in recent decades. For an overview of this literature, see also M. LUPESCU MAKÓ, "Material culture in the mirror of the testaments: The Art of the home in Cluj in the first half of the sixteenth century", *Colloquia: Journal of Central European History* 13 (2006), pp. 50-77, at pp. 72-73, n. 3.

the practice of last will making which reflect the functions of orality and literacy.

As regards the European development of testamentary law, it must first be associated with Roman law as a codification system which encompassed the unique, particular, and common features. It is not incidental that the word 'testament' is of Latin origin.[19] According to the Roman legal system, the last will was needed to ensure the possibility of nominating one person as the heir of one's acquired wealth. The nomination of a single person meant in fact that all other persons were excluded from the inheritance.[20] Medieval testaments witness a different kind of practice, since these could only refer to minor parts or particular objects of the bequest, while the rules of legal inheritance applied to the major, unnamed part of the heritage. This deviation from Roman law has been considered by many to be related to the spreading of the customary law of barbarian people, among which an outstanding role was assigned to Germanic law.[21] According to the customary law of Germanic peoples, the wealth of the deceased was inherited by the closest blood relatives; they were not familiar with the possibility of independent last will making. With the dissemination of Christianity, however, significant changes occurred in this field, since on the basis of the teachings of the great Church Father Augustine, the Church claimed a part of the fortune of the deceased. This church donation, 'offered' for the salvation of the deceased's soul, is called in the literature *mortuarium*.[22] It must be added that there had also been a pagan custom of making an offering to the gods, ensuring the peaceful otherworldly life of the deceased. In this way,

[19] H. CONRAD, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschicht: Ein Lehrbuch*, 1, *Frühzeit und Mittelalter*, 2nd edn. (Karlsruhe, 1962), p. 420. About the notion of *testamentum*, see W. PÖCKL and P. DINZELBACHER, "Testament", in: *Sachwörterbuch der Mediävistik*, ed. P. DINZELBACHER (Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 806-807, at p. 807.

[20] "*... caput atque fundamentum intellegitur totius testamenti heredis institutio*" (G. SCHULZ, *Testamente des späten Mittelalters aus dem Mittelrheingebiet: Eine Untersuchung in rechts- und kulturgeschichtlicher Hinsicht* (Bonn, 1976: *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte* 27), p. 2).

[21] In Aders' expression: "*Das Gut rinnt wie das Blut*" (G. ADERS, *Das Testamentsrecht der Stadt Köln im Mittelalter* (Cologne, 1932: *Veröffentlichungen des kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 8), p. 15); SZENDE, *Otthon a városban*, p. 62. Recently, the influence of the Germanic law on the inheritance practices in medieval Hungarian free royal towns and market towns was analysed by L. BLAZOVICH, "Az öröklési jog a középkori jogkönyvekben és a városi gyakorlatban" [Law of inheritance in medieval law books and in urban practice], *Századok* 147 (2013), pp. 411-432.

[22] L. SOLYMOSI, "Egyházi és világi (földesúri) mortuarium a 11-14. századi Magyarországon" [Ecclesiastical and secular mortuarium in Hungary in the eleventh-fourteenth centuries], *Századok* 121 (1987), pp. 547-583, at pp. 553-560; M. LUPESCU MAKÓ, "'*Donum pro salute anime*' – Un alt tip de oblație?" ["*Donum pro salute anime*" – Another type of oblate?], *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai: Series Historia* 51 (2006), pp. 167-181.

besides the teaching of the Church, it was also the 'Christianisation' of this earlier pagan custom which had its share in the formation of the *mortuarium*. At any rate, it was essential that the blood relatives were not free to dispose of a part of the deceased's fortune.

In addition to Roman law, Germanic customary law, and pagan customs, canon law largely defined the formation of testamentary law. Since Hungary, and therefore also Transylvania, fell outside the borders of the Holy Roman Empire, canon law was much more decisive than Roman law in the development of the local practice of testamentary law. Throughout the Middle Ages, the Church preserved its litigation right in questions connected to marriage and inheritance. Consequently, it can be seen that in the first part of the Middle Ages the testaments of the aristocracy and the nobility were issued by clerics, usually by the local parish priest, and this custom, to a lesser or greater degree, also infiltrated urban life. The first signs of opposition to the Church's alleged excessive interference with testaments appeared in the late Middle Ages, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One obvious sign of this is, that a last will made solely in the presence of clergy and without the presence of a secular witness was considered invalid.[23] It is not accidental that the first, more significant attempts to regulate last will making also date to this period. As an effect of all this, the right to free testament making was born as a result of a longer process. It is important to note that the testators were not forced to dispose of their entire fortune. This was registered in inheritance inventories. Furthermore, it was not necessary to nominate a principal heir. The development of the citizens' property relations had a major influence on the formation of this system, distinct from Roman law. Similarly to the nobility, who could not dispose freely of their ancient estates, urban settlers also had no free testamentary right over legally bound real estate properties, but the acquired wealth and the possibility of freely disposing of it was continuously increasing. This is mirrored by the ever more frequent remarks of the testators that everything they dispose of is the product of their own work (sometimes they also emphasise the role of their spouses), highlighting that they did not inherit this part of their fortune but acquired it by hard work. This was obviously a warning meant for the relatives, that they should lay no claim to the acquired wealth. An excel-

[23] A. VON BRANDT, *Mittelalterliche Bürgertestamente*: *Neuerschlossene Quellen zur Geschichte der materiellen und geistigen Kultur* (Heidelberg, 1973: *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil-Hist. Klasse* 3), pp. 5-6; Gy. BÓNIS, *Középkori jogunk elemei: Római jog, Kánonjog, Szokásjog* [The elements of our medieval law: Roman law, canon law, customary law] (Budapest, 1972), pp. 247-248.

lent example for this is the common testament of Stephan Hagymás and his wife, Helena, from Cluj-Mănăştur (Kolozsmonostor). Since their children had died, they mutually made each other their heir for all their movable and immovable goods, acquired by the work of their hands.[24] At the same time, those involved were also aware of the various types of movable goods. The testamentary right of townspeople in Hungary was often regulated by the tavernical law,[25] but we also know of several towns where testaments were made on the basis of their own regulations or local customary law.[26] Thus, in the case of citizens' testaments, the rights and customs of the town also had a role to play in the formation of the particular image of testamentary law. The codification of the Hungarian customary law by István Werbőczy in 1517 also contained paragraphs on testament making and inheritance,[27] similarly to synodal decrees, among which I would like to emphasise those of the church of Veszprém of 1515.[28]

In the case of Transylvanian towns, including Cluj, testament making followed customary law, which means that the matters of inheritance and succession were controlled by unwritten norms.[29] At the time, it seems that it was not possible to make free dispositions about the ancient fortune, because this was inherited on a bloodline basis by descendants and family members.[30] However,

[24] *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei (1289-1556)* [The convent records from Cluj-Mănăştur, 1289-1556], ed. Zs. JAKÓ, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1990: *A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai* 2), 1, No. 2313, p. 792.

[25] The so-called tavernical law was compiled around 1440 and contains, among other issues, regulations of testamentary practices. These dispositions refer only to the 'tavernical towns', considered to be free royal towns (Buda, Košice, Bratislava, Trnava, Sopron, Bardejov, Prešov, and Pest), and they were used at their common court, led by the *magister tavernicalis*. See *Codex authenticus iuris tavernicalis*, ed. M.G. KOVACHICH (Buda, 1803); G. WENZEL, *A tárnoki jog* [The tavernical law] (Budapest, 1890).

[26] SZENDE, "A magyarországi városi végrendeletek helye", pp. 347-351.

[27] I. WERBŐCZY, *Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii inclytii regni Hungariae – Nemes Magyarország szokásjogának Hármaskönyve*, ed. S. KOLOSVÁRI and K. ÓVÁRI (Budapest, 1990).

[28] *A veszprémi egyház 1515. évi zsinati határozatai* [The synodal decrees of the Veszprém diocese from 1515], ed. L. SOLYMOSI (Budapest, 1997).

[29] E. DÓSA, *Erdélyhoni jogtudomány* [Transylvanian jurisprudence], 3 vols. (Kolozsvár, 1861), 2, pp. 356-363.

[30] In the western part of Europe the term 'patrimony' was used and generally understood to mean immovables that had come through inheritance and were automatically passed to those kin recognised as heirs (usually children, often spouses, or, in their absence, parents). The problem is with the term 'immovables', because it did not have a clear meaning. The range of variation was enormous and was settled according to local custom, which changed over the time. See, e.g. E. LE ROY LADURIE, "Family structures and inheritance customs in sixteenth-century France",

burghers could freely dispose of their acquired wealth. In this way, they followed the principle that the immovable goods would be inherited within the family. The situation only changed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in 1603, when the town of Cluj compiled and formulated a statute which regulated the inheritance procedure.[31] In all probability, as to its content, the statute meant the formulation in writing of the previously applied customary law. This well-formed and well-applied customary law in the field of inheritance and its written formulation in 1603 created such a high degree of legal security in inheritance procedure that it is able to explain why there was no need to compose a testament if the fortune only had to be divided between legal heirs.[32] On the other hand, it also explains why there were so few testaments preserved in Cluj in comparison with other towns (Sopron, Bratislava, Košice/Kassa, Prešov). It must also be taken into account that last will making was not an exclusive condition of the inheritance procedure, and the testament itself was not strictly defined in form either on a local or a national level.[33]

In Cluj, one may find several forms of last wills. Some of them were officially authenticated, that is, they bear the seal and signature of some public authority; others had private authentication, meaning that they were made under the seal and / or signature of private individuals. In both cases one may deal with testaments formulated either in writing or orally. The officially authenticated written testaments could have been written by the maker of the testament himself or herself (although this was rarer), or by someone else, in such a way that the testator acknowledged the last will, orally delivered and then written down, as his or her own. The document thus created had to be presented to an institution or person with the right of authentication, where it was registered, and then the authenticated version was delivered to the testator.

in: *Families and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800*, ed. J. GOODY, J. THIRSK, and E.P. THOMPSON (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 37-70; P. GODDING, "Le droit au service du patrimoine familial: Les Pays Bas méridionaux (12e-18e siècles)", in: *Marriage, Property and Succession*, ed. L. BONFIELD (Berlin, 1992: Comparative Studies in Continental and Anglo-American Legal History 10), pp. 15-35.

[31] *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története második és harmadik kötetéhez* [Cartulary for the second and third volumes of Cluj history], ed. E. JAKAB (Buda, 1888), pp. 184-198; *Corpus Statutorum Hungariae Municipalium*, ed. S. KOLOSVÁRI and K. ÓVÁRI, 5 vols. (Budapest, 1885-1904), 1, pp. 251-272.

[32] Gy. KOVÁCS KISS, "Végrendeletek Kolozsvár város levéltárában" [Testaments in the town archive of Cluj], in: *Emlékkönyv Csetri Elek születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* [Memorial volume in honour of the eightieth birthday of Elek Csetri], ed. J. PÁL and G. SIPOS (Kolozsvár, 2004), pp. 258-267, at pp. 258-259.

[33] DÓSA, *Erdélyhoni jogtudomány*, 2, pp. 362-363.

In case of orally uttered, officially authenticated testaments, the last will maker recited his last will in front of the delegates of the institutions of authentication; they recorded it in writing, and they issued the authenticated version. On the basis of the examples analysed, this was the most frequent version of officially authenticated testaments. Privately authenticated testaments were evidently drawn up under the seal and / or signature of private individuals, but this was a rare custom in the Middle Ages, and only started to become more frequent in the early modern period. I have found very few testaments written by private individuals which were also signed or sealed. Sealing was more frequent. Privately authenticated written testaments were recorded either by the testator or some other person present (usually one of the witnesses), and they were enforced by a seal (either the seal of the testator or that of one of the assisting persons). In such cases, since it was a private document, the testator did not consider it necessary to enforce it by the seal of an institution of authentication. However, the testaments which also disposed of the testator's goods in the town had to be authenticated by the signatures and seals of two jurors. In the case of privately authenticated oral testaments, the author formulated his or her testament orally in the presence of two persons of undoubted, stainless morality (usually the town jurors were requested for this task), who authenticated the subsequently written testament by their signature and / or seal. The examples from Sibiu stand as evidence for the same practice. It was expected for the testament to be written already in the testator's lifetime, based on the testimonies of the witnesses, so that it could be read to the testator, who would thus be able to make his or her acknowledgment. Nevertheless, occasionally the testament would only be written after the death of the testator, based on the testimonies of the witnesses; this did not alter the legal status of the testament.

It has been mentioned before that relatively few testaments have been preserved in Transylvanian towns, and that the reason for this was most likely that the remaining goods were only divided between the legal heirs, requiring no testamentary procedure. In consequence, the written formulation of most extant testaments happened in cases when, after the division of the property, the goods were also inherited by those other than the legal heirs, either restricting the rights of the latter or completely excluding them from the testament. The preserved testaments of Transylvanian townspeople suggest that the citizens usually chose written, officially authenticated testaments, either in front of their own legal authority, by having the town authority issue an authenti-

cated charter about the testament, or in front of the legal authority of one of the two places of authentication (*loca credibilia*), Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) or Cluj-Mănăştur.[34] In the case of Sibiu it was the town which issued officially authenticated charters of testaments on the basis of the later testimonies of witnesses. In addition, citizens of Sibiu, Orăştie (Szászváros, Broos), and Sebeş (Szászsebes, Mühlbach) also turned to notaries. In this respect the citizens of Cluj were in a most favourable situation, since the Cluj-Mănăştur place of authentication was just outside the town. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that most extant testaments were either written in front of the delegates of the Cluj-Mănăştur place of authentication, or were drawn up subsequently on the basis of testimony, but also in front of the delegates of the convent. This was the course followed, for instance, by the mason John Pohár,[35] and Margarete Sleser, widow of Johann.[36] There is no evidence in the Middle Ages of testaments being introduced either into town books or into a special testament book (*protocollum testamentorum*). Although the town administration of Cluj decreed, already in 1380, the creation of a town register which would contain entries connected to testaments, inheritance, and other important affairs, only its parts after 1516 have been preserved.[37] Unfortunately, testaments were not introduced into later town books either, although the books were systematically completed in the course of the sixteenth century. Data exist from the second half of the sixteenth century (which falls outside the chronological limits set for this research, and therefore I shall not treat it in detail) that by then the town issued testaments authenticated with its own large seal.[38] However, this had been customary practice in Sibiu already in the fifteenth century. In the case of the town of Bistriţa, there is a reference indicating that written

[34] The places of authentication (*loca credibilia*) were cathedral or collegiate chapters and (mostly) Benedictine and Premonstratensian convents, which in Hungary replaced the public notaries of medieval Europe. Under their authentic seal they issued documents about private legal transactions, and witnessed the actions of the royal bailiff. In medieval Transylvania there were two functioning places of authentication, the Alba Iulia, or Transylvanian cathedral chapter, and the Cluj-Mănăştur Benedictine convent. For the abbeys as places of authentication the term convent was used. The medieval history of this institution is discussed in *Loca credibilia - Hiteleshelyek a középkori Magyarországon* [*Loca credibilia* - Places of authentication in medieval Hungary], ed. T. FEDELES and I. BILKEI (Pécs, 2009).

[35] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 976, pp. 441-442.

[36] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 1153, p. 488.

[37] Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, Diplomatic Archives collection [henceforth NHA], DL 42145; *Documenta Romaniae Historica, C, Transilvania*, ed. S. ANDEA, L. GROSS *et al.*, 15, (1376-1380) (Bucharest, 2006), No. 456, p. 715.

[38] KOVÁCS KISS, "Végrendeletek Kolozsvár város levéltárában", p. 259.

testaments were entered in a testament book. This is an indirect source concerning its existence, because the *protocollum testamentorum* itself has not been preserved.

The testaments at our disposal reveal that the citizens of Cluj considered it necessary to make an officially authenticated testament for two reasons. First, if the testator had acquired property, this would be the only property that they could dispose of, since according to customary law and the later 1603 inheritance statute, the ancient fortune, the "Kolozsvár estate", had to be inherited by bloodline and kindred.[39] However, the maker of the will could freely dispose of acquired goods. The well-operating customary law was enough under normal circumstances to render the making of a testament superfluous. Additionally, the examples preserved seem to reveal that officially authenticated testaments were made in the first place if there was a suspicion that the testament would not have a peaceful afterlife, but that it would be attacked by the heirs for some reason or other. As we shall see further on, the testators stressed in several cases that they would renounce their family inheritance, but that, in return, they expected their siblings to renounce their share of the property. In other cases, on the contrary, the testators made a written testament because they suspected that the exclusion of their relatives as heirs could cause problems for the heirs, and that an officially authenticated testament would be of help to them in case of litigation.

The testaments of the citizens of Sibiu could also be written subsequently in front of the judges and jurors of the town. Similar to Cluj, the witnesses of the testament had to testify under oath to the last will of the testator. The written testaments were included into officially authenticated charters and sealed. The last will of Albert Aposch was enforced by the sworn councillors of the town of Sibiu on the basis of the oral testimony of the witnesses, and a charter with a hanging seal was issued about it.[40] The testament of Peter the weaver was formulated in writing after his death on the basis of the testimonies of the

[39] A 'Cluj heir' in time came to be considered a burgher with full rights who had real estate property in town and paid taxes for it. Such a person, besides his other privileges, had the right to vote and could stand for election. The burgher of Cluj who had a heritage equivalent to his fee (the fee of the people of Cluj was 200 florins) could not be captured and imprisoned in the Tower without a trial, excepting those persons who had committed capital crimes (*Oklevéltár*, 1, p. 380; 2, p. 134; Kiss, *Más források*, p. 162). From the nineteenth century we still have examples of foreign merchants who had to buy houses in the town to be naturalised (A. Kiss, *Források és értelmezések* [Sources and interpretations] (Bucharest, 1994), pp. 129, 361).

[40] NHA DL 31119.

citizens of Sibiu, witnesses of the oral testament.[41] Magdalene, widow of Zachary Scharner of Mergesteten, had her late husband's testament written by the authority of the town of Sebeş. The German-language testament, written in 1445, the beneficiary of which was the widow herself, was transcribed seven years after its original formulation, and on this occasion the widow received from the town a charter with a hanging seal.[42] In this way, regardless of the forms of the testaments, these legal practices showed a common quality in one respect: they testify something, making a testimony about something, thus performing an activity mirrored also by the etymology of the word 'testament'. The answer to question of why, how, when, in which form, and by whom this happened, assumes the large-scale use of the instruments of orality and literacy alike. In what follows I shall search for the meeting points of these two factors in the testaments of late medieval citizens of Cluj.

## *Orality and Literacy in Testaments*

Let us return for an instant to the testament quoted in the introductory part of the essay, in which Magdalene gives her reasons for making such a will. For regardless of whether the will is formulated orally or in writing, an element of the *arengas* that is almost always present is that of the testator giving his or her reasons. As can be seen in the case of Magdalene, healthy people could also make a will (although her being a widow leads us to believe that she may have been advanced in years), but in most cases wills were made in response to a particular circumstance. The most frequent reasons given were old age, illness, and a sense of the proximity of death. This is expressed in the formula reflecting the state of the testator: "Although my body is ill, my mind is completely sane". The formula emphasising mental sanity was meant to prevent anyone from questioning the mental capacities of the testator and thus the possibility of having his or her will revoked on these grounds. But a state of illness did not always signify that the testator was advanced in age. On rare occasions there are also testaments of younger persons who have decided to make a will due to their state of illness. Such is the case of a citizen of Cluj, Michael Peltmaker's

[41] NHA DL 36900.
[42] NHA DL 44637.

daughter Agnes, who made a will in 1461 presumably due to her physical handicap.[43]

People in the Middle Ages, however, were not persuaded to make a will only by old age or serious illness.[44] Often wills were made because of their having to make a dangerous journey or having to participate in battle. If people intended to go on a mission or a pilgrimage, or set out on a long journey, they would make a will. This is how John, a citizen of Cluj, proceeded in 1450: he went to the fair in the market town of Debrecen with his goods; while there, he contracted some deadly illness and had to make his last will in writing far away from home.[45] Participating in a battle was far more dangerous than setting out on a journey. In such a case making a will was even recommended. At the end of the Middle Ages, in the Hungarian Kingdom, and therefore in Transylvania as well, the number of wills made by those going to war had grown significantly. In 1539, Michael Valkói, living in the vicinity of Cluj, made his will fearing that he might be killed in battle against the Ottomans while defending his country.[46] Epidemics of aggressive, deadly diseases sometimes provided the reason for making a will. Anton Borfejtő from Cluj-Mănăştur made a will "due to the fact that I may suddenly die in these times when the plague is at its high point".[47]

A special category of wills is made when the reason for making a will is to settle a family issue, e.g. a dispute over an inheritance.[48] In Cluj we find several cases when spouses mutually appointed each other as the main beneficiary of

[43] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 1512, p. 582; *Urkundenbuch*, 6, p. 98.

[44] An exception can be considered the case of the most influential citizens of Douai, who meticulously arranged everything before death. M.C. HOWELL, "Fixing movables: Gifts by testament in late medieval Douai", *Past & Present* 151 (1996), pp. 3-45, at pp. 5-9.

[45] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 846, p. 407.

[46] "*... considerando etiam presentis temporis miserrimam conditionem presentemque expeditionem contra Thurcos, in qua ipse omni suo conatu non curando ulteriorem vitam propter fidem Christianam et miserrimos Christianos, orphanos, virgines et viduas et propter amorem patrie mortem etiam acerbissimam pati paratus est, si igitur eundem ab hac luce miserabili sic decedere contingat, extunc ...*" (*A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4734, pp. 630-631).

[47] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 5335, pp. 794-795.

[48] The eventual disputes about the execution of the testaments led to further oral deeds, which were then recorded in writing and became part of court cases. For the exploration of this kind of legal records, see A. FOX, "Oral and literate culture in early modern England: Case studies from legal records", in: *Fact, Fiction and Forensic Evidence: The Potential of Judicial Sources for Historical Research in the Early Modern Period*, ed. S. SOGNER (Oslo, 1997: *Tid og Tanke: Skriftserie fra Historisk institutt, Universitet i Oslo* 2), pp. 35-52.

their wills in authenticated written testaments. In most cases this gesture was due to their not having children, but there were cases when there was a legal heir, but the parents wished to secure his right to the inheritance only after their deaths. Lawrence Tóth, a citizen of Cluj, and his wife, Katarina Menteler, mutually appointed each other as the main beneficiary of their will, stipulating that if they were both to die, their property should be inherited by their son, Lawrence.[49] Spouses act in the same manner when they appoint each other as the main beneficiary of their will, excluding all their other relatives. Johann Herman and his wife, Dorothea, inhabitants of the outskirts of Cluj, appointed each other as the main beneficiary of their will, excluding all their other relatives and friends.[50] There are also cases when only one of the spouses appointed the other as the main beneficiary of his or her will, excluding his or her relatives, in a so-called unilateral testament. One such testator is John Pohár who, on his deathbed, excluded all his relatives from his will and named as sole beneficiary his wife Dorothy.[51] Another such case is that of Gregory Czompol's wife, born Ana Markos, who left all her real estate and movables to her husband by will.[52] In cases where there were no children to inherit, appointing a main beneficiary by will was even more important. In such cases the circle of beneficiaries was wider: adopted children, faithful servants or caretakers – these could all become the main beneficiaries of the will. Margarete Sleser made a will in 1468 when she was a widow. Her will included several important terms that indicate that Margarete had made a will earlier, for she mentions withdrawing her earlier will. A novelty of the new will is that she adopts the priest Bartholomew, the chaplain of St. Michael's church, and appoints him as the main beneficiary, leaving all her real estate and movables to him, i.e. her house and her vineyard of two acres.[53] Margaret Szurda was also a widow when she made a will. Since she had no children, she adopted Christine, who had served Margaret faithfully from childhood, and her husband. Margaret left her house, all movables in it and her vineyard to them by will.[54] As we have seen earlier, Agnes Peltmaker was forced by her "powerlessness and infirmities" ("*consideratis dicte puelle defectibus et infirmitatibus*") to appoint Margarete Czikker as her heir. Her last will excluded all her relatives and stip-

[49] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 410, p. 291.
[50] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 1431, p. 560; *Urkundenbuch*, 6, p. 73.
[51] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 976, pp. 441-442.
[52] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4313, p. 519.
[53] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 1802, p. 660; *Urkundenbuch*, 6, p. 336.
[54] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 779, p. 391.

ulated that her house, her vineyard and garden of one acre should be inherited by Margaret and her children under the condition that they would care for her until the end of her life.[55] It seems that the citizens of Cluj did not make a will while young or many years before their death – unless they had good reason to do so. The usual procedure was to make an oral will when old, ill, or dying, and to have that will later recorded in writing at the institutions of authentication.

If we were to imagine the scene of a will being made – perhaps by using miniatures from late medieval codices or reconstructing it from the text of the wills themselves – we would first identify the main characters in this action: the testator, the members of the family, a member of the clergy (in most cases the confessor of the testator, who was also one of the witnesses), other witnesses, and executors. Everyone had their role in the process of making a will. When he felt that the time was nearing, the testator did not passively wait for his death, but sent for the priest to prepare him for death, which, according to the teaching of the Church and the conviction of the believer, was the transition to eternity. The priest would encourage the dying person to confide with all his might in the mercy of God. After the dying person declared that he left all ill will behind and accepted his fate, the priest heard his confession, gave him holy communion, and anointed him with a substance while performing a sacrament, i.e. the extreme unction. Then it was time for the will. It was a prerequisite to have witnesses in the process of making a will.

The role of the witnesses was very important. On the one hand, after the death of the testator, if there was litigation, witnesses could testify whether the testament expressed the will of the testator. On the other hand, the will of a dead person could be written after his death based on the testimony of the witnesses, if the writing of the will in itself proved impossible at the time of making the will, due to not having a person around who could write or for any other reason.[56] According to canon law a will could be made in the presence of seven witnesses, but at least three competent male witnesses were necessary, also taking the priest into consideration. But, if necessary, donations could also

[55] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 1512, p. 582; *Urkundenbuch*, 6, p. 98.

[56] The situation was similar in early modern England, where the validity of an oral or nuncupative will written down after the testator's death depended upon the concordant testimony of two witnesses. However, for the security of heirs, a stipulation was introduced in 1540. According to this rule, all wills concerning land must henceforth be in writing; nuncupative wills are no longer admissible. Cf. R. HOULBROOKE, *Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480-1750* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 88-89.

be made in front of only two witnesses. And since most of the testators of Cluj were illiterate they chose their witnesses carefully, since the witnesses could guarantee later that their will had been faithfully rendered.

Analysing the list of witnesses, it seems the testators chose prestigious persons for this task. 'Prestigious' did not necessarily mean equal to or above them in rank. This was in any case true for the executors. Rather, irreproachability and reliability were taken into consideration, since if there were any problems, the witnesses were the ones who confirmed or invalidated by their testimony the issues at hand. Therefore it was advisable to ask fairly well-known and generally respected persons to be witnesses. The wills of the citizens of Cluj prove that their witnesses were usually jury members, wealthy citizens of the town, even women (for only wills made exclusively in front of women and clergymen were considered invalid) and, in almost every case, clergymen.[57] The will of the above-mentioned stonecutter, John Pohár, was written in 1451 in the presence of two representatives of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur based on the testimony of the witnesses. He had six witnesses, all of whom were citizens of Cluj: the first two were John and Peter, who were both chaplains of St. Michael's parish church; another two were women, Gregory Varga's wife, born Magdalene Kádár, and the widow Margaret Henc; and finally Andrew Kádár and Johann Götz.[58] Gregory Czompol's wife, born Ana Markos, in 1530 had three witnesses, all citizens of Cluj: Elijah Tót, Bricius Eppel, and Peter Oláh.[59] When the will of the late Ursula, the widow of the juror Paul Zilahi, was transcribed in 1531, the transcription was performed based on the testimony of three witnesses as well: the priest John, the chaplain Denis Móré, and Johann Eppel. It turns out that the lay witnesses of Ursula and her husband, deceased earlier, are the same persons. Only the clergyman was different in each case, since the husband chose his confessor, the Dominican brother and preacher of the town Demetrius, as his third witness.[60] Witnesses of the will of Christopher Kerekes were also three citizens of Cluj.[61] Examples show that testators do not disregard their witnesses in their wills. Peter Pinc

[57] Examining the testaments of the medieval burghers of Bratislava, Katalin Szende came to a similar conclusion concerning the choice of the witnesses. *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum 1410 (1427)-1529*, ed. J. MAJOROSSY and K. SZENDE, 1 (1410-1487) (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar, 2010), pp. 6-20.

[58] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 976, pp. 441-442.

[59] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4313, p. 519.

[60] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4362, p. 533.

[61] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4366, p. 535.

bequeathed items to all three of his witnesses in his will: priest Paul Prázsmári, the chaplain of Cluj, who was also his confessor and most likely the one who formulated his will, was to have his better dolman; Matthias Szőrös was to receive four acres of plough land in Kajántóvölgy; and George Mészáros was to have all his wine and vintage equipment.[62]

Returning to the imaginary scene of making a will, it can be observed that the absolution given by the priest and the dialogue taking place on this occasion is followed by the monologue of the testator who wills his acquired possessions. "*Item lego ...*" ("Moreover I leave ...") – the testator would enumerate and the witnesses, the priest(s), and family members would all pay careful attention so that no one would be left out. But sometimes the monologue could be interrupted. Should the testator have forgotten about the legacies which would help his case after death, the priest had the right and also the obligation to interrupt him and remind him of the merits he could earn in the other life by giving donations in this one. This was the procedure that explains the often quoted article of the precedence laws of the town, which states that the Church intervened to a far greater extent in the making of the wills than it should. It is correct to regard the clergyman's role of witness as an episode in the constant competition between the Church and the local administration. In this case the local administration meant to protect its own interests by trying to diminish the influence the Church had on the testator. Therefore in some towns, such as Sopron at the beginning of the fifteenth century, a town decree was adopted stipulating that wills made exclusively with clergymen as witnesses should be considered invalid.[63] In some cases the concern of the local administration regarding the influence the Church had on the testators was legitimate, but they were not the only ones who had an influence on the testator: there was also the family, the neighbours, the relatives, or even the fellow members of the guild to which the testator belonged. One of the best ways to exercise an influence on testators was to interrupt them and ask whether they meant to leave anything for a certain institution or person. In most cases the testator would abide by his or her original will, suggesting that he or she had thought it over already and had decided what to say in his or her will and what would be left to whom. In his will, Nicholas Kádár appoints his second wife, Fruzsina, and his children with her, Praxedis and Stephan, as the main beneficiaries, thus disinheriting his

[62] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4358, pp. 531-532.

[63] J. Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története* [The history of the free royal town of Sopron], 2 vols. (Sopron, 1930), 2, pp. 159-160.

two children born from his first marriage, Anton and Catherine. When asked whether he was sure that this was his intention, he gave a reason for his radical behaviour: his children by his first marriage had treated him infamously, and therefore he had decided to disinherit them.[64] George Kassai, an organ player of Cluj, left by will all his real estate and movables to his wife, Catherine, under the condition that she would care for the salvation of his soul. When he was reminded of his brother, the testator said that, since he had given up his part of the inheritance (both real estate and movables) in Košice in favour of his brother, they had made an agreement that in return his brother would leave his present wife alone.[65] In another case, when Demetrius Nagyvölgyi's wife Barbara, the widow of *literatus* Fabian of Cluj, was reminded of her relatives, she explained that she intentionally left all her real estate and movable possessions to her husband.[66] The relatively great number of wills in which the testator abided by his or her initial will suggests that these were not random choices; on the contrary, the fact that these instances are recorded in the wills is testimony to the fact that the witnesses fulfilled their duties.[67] In other cases the dialogue during the making of the will emphasised the probative nature of the will. Michael Kermesser's wife Margaret made a will as a widow in which she obviously intended to prevent litigation when she declared in front of the witnesses called to her deathbed, that her husband had paid 525 gold forints, which was the debt of her sons and daughters.[68] It seems that this type of information was written down nearly word for word as it was spoken. Of course it would be interesting to know to what extent the elements of the oral culture of the age influenced the written style of the wills, but there is no way one could give an honest answer to that. What can instead be done is the evaluation of the role of literacy, which is helped greatly by the analysis of the aftermath of the testaments.

[64] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4208, p. 491.

[65] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4364, p. 534.

[66] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 5169, p. 743.

[67] G. JARITZ, "Die realienkundliche Aussage der sogenannten 'Wiener Testamentsbücher'", in: *Das Leben in der Stadt des Spätmittelalters*, ed. H. KÜHNEL (Vienna, 1980: *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs 2*), pp. 171-190, at p. 185; K. SZENDE, "Testaments and testimonies: Orality and literacy in composing last wills in late medieval Hungary", in: *Oral History of the Middle Ages: The Spoken Word in Context*, ed. G. JARITZ and M. RICHTER (Krems and Budapest, 2001: *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 12 = *CEU Medievalia* 3), pp. 49-66, at pp. 56-57.

[68] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 202, p. 241.

Announcing the will to the local administration was the obligation of the witnesses and family members, and it was done approximately one month after the will was orally formulated. There are no wills written by the testator's own hand in Cluj. Therefore, orally formulated wills were usually written as a document sealed for authentication based on the testimony of the witnesses (usually within a month). Matthew Demeterfi made a will on 3 October 1530. At his widow's request the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur made it into a written document based on the testimony of the witnesses on 5 November.[69] Peter Czigler acted in the same manner. He orally formulated a will on 5 July 1539, and his widow requested representatives of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur to write it down on 2 August.[70] Others went directly to the convent and orally formulated their will, which was written on the spot by the notaries of the convent. This is what Margarete, the widow of Johann Schleffer, did in 1459,[71] and Elisabeth, the wife of Stephan Weimer, in 1503.[72] Besides the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur, the local authorities also had the right to issue a privileged document of the will. The will of Ana, the widow of Jacob Goldschmidt, was issued in a privileged document witnessed by the judge of the town and twelve jurors in September 1492.[73] In the same manner, the will benefiting the St. Elisabeth almshouse of Cluj made by Margaret, the widow of the citizen of Cluj Michael Kautusch, was issued in a document and sealed by the local administration at the request of the master of the almshouse.[74] The common will dated 27 August 1372 of Peter Bakányi and his wife Senid, appointing the local St. Michael's church as the beneficiary of their will, was also authenticated by the seal of the town; yet the next day it was transcribed in the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur.[75] In some rare cases written notes were made of the will at the deathbed of the testator, and later the final, authenticated form of the will was formulated according to these notes. When the will of Ana, the wife of Gregory Czompol, was made, it emphasised that her last will was written by Anton Bekesi, who was invited for that reason.[76] These notes were then transcribed into an authentic document by the public notary Michael Csomai at the husband's request. Unfortunately, the

[69] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4328, pp. 523-524.
[70] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4716, p. 625.
[71] *Oklevéltár*, 1, pp. 197-198.
[72] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 3295, p. 233.
[73] *Oklevéltár*, 1, pp. 300-302.
[74] *Oklevéltár*, 1, pp. 307-308.
[75] *Oklevéltár*, 1, pp. 70-71, 71-72.
[76] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4313, p. 519.

exact time the will was recorded in written form is not known, as the beginning of the document is incomplete.[77]

A will of 1415, transcribed in 1455, constitutes a very special case. It regards a mill originally left by will to St. Peter's church of Cluj. The initial will is transposed in a new document based on the testimony of the witnesses, because the mill was confiscated not long before by the priests of St. Michael's church, who also took the profit obtained from it.[78] We do not know exactly when Peter Tamási, Nicholas Szurja, and John Göde, all citizens of Cluj, left the mill on the outskirts of the town, near St. Peter's church, to that church, but it is certain that in 1415 St. Michael's parish church listed it among its own proprieties.[79] But in this case we are not so interested in the conflict between the two churches as we are in the process of having the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur transcribe the will in 1455. And since the original witnesses were no longer alive, new witnesses were used. Very elderly people testified orally to the notaries of the convent that the facts of the initial will represented a living tradition among the members of the congregation of St. Peter's parish church.

Another group of testaments consists of wills made in special situations, formulated first orally and then recorded in a document, usually after the death of the testator, based on the testimony of the witnesses. When they regard civil testaments, these cases can also be found in the minutes of the town's justice administration, since in most cases the will needed to be written down at a later date because it was the object of a lawsuit of succession, and the will itself was recorded as the testimony of the witnesses.[80] As far as the content is concerned, these wills are nearly the same as the ones written in an authenticated document, since the most important beneficiaries were usually spouses or children. On her deathbed, Katarina Lukácsi left all her real estate and movables to her husband, Martin the goldsmith, but she also made donations to the Church and to her relatives.[81] Peter Pinc left a similar will. He enumerated in detail all his donations for noble purposes and also whatever he left to his stepfather, broth-

[77] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4314, p. 519.

[78] *Oklevéltár*, 1, pp. 189-191; *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 1185, pp. 496-497, cf. No. 1184, p. 496 and No. 1189, p. 498; *Urkundenbuch*, 5, pp. 481-482.

[79] *Oklevéltár*, 1, pp. 154-156; G. ENTZ, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században* [The architecture in Transylvania between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries] (Kolozsvár, 1996), p. 340.

[80] László Pakó was quoted by KOVÁCS KISS, "Végrendeletek Kolozsvár város levéltárában", p. 260.

[81] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 2029, p. 721; *Urkundenbuch*, 6, pp. 503-504.

ers, and sisters living in Cluj. But he stipulated that his possessions of Baia de Arieş (Offenbánya) should remain with his brothers living there, and that, in return, they would not contest his will.[82] Christopher Kerekes also left all his real estate and movables to his wife, Catherine, stipulating that she would give their inheritance to his three brothers, one of whom was still a minor, and that she would perform all the donations he willed.[83] These cases, when the wife was usually the heir, suggest that women were more likely vulnerable to possible deficiencies of the legal system, and therefore husbands, in the interest of their wives, tried to do everything in their power to have the wills recorded in authenticated documents. However, beneficiaries of wills written down in authenticated documents could be not only wives or husbands, but legitimate children and siblings of the testators as well. This assumption is confirmed by the will of Ursula, the wife of the juror Paul Zilahi, which was written in an authenticated document based on the testimony of witnesses by Nicholas Csomai of Szeged, *literatus*, papal notary, and employee of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur, as well as the clerk of the county of Cluj (Kolozs).[84] Oddly, one of her first instructions was the execution of the will of one of her sisters, who had died a spinster. Then she detailed the donations she wished to make and the possessions she intended to leave to her brothers and sisters and to the witnesses. She even remembered to give instructions on the priority of inheritance, should her son die while still a minor.[85] As Ana Pauchmaker was still unmarried and was ill, the beneficiaries of her will were her brothers and sisters and their families, with Ursula in particular mentioned as the one who was to inherit her house, besides her movables, under the condition that she would pay all her and their father's debts.[86] Subsequent to his death, the witnesses to the will of the late Georg Payer declared before the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur that on his deathbed the testator left his house, undivided, to all his family.[87]

Another possible method of analysis of the relationship between orality and literacy – besides those mentioned above – is the analysis of the verbs and personal pronouns of the wills. It seems that most of the wills of Cluj that have been preserved use the third person singular, which can be explained by their

[82] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4358, pp. 531-532.
[83] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4366, p. 535.
[84] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 101, pp. 216-217.
[85] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4362, p. 533.
[86] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 2, No. 4365, pp. 534-535.
[87] *A kolozsmonostori konvent*, 1, No. 267, p. 256.

being written in a document at the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur, a place of authentication. This is because when witnesses related the content of the will to the representatives of the convent, they naturally used the third person singular. Wills formulated in the first person singular are very rare, since privileged wills are rare. There are also cases when first and third person singular appear mixed, for example the introduction and the conclusion – which were considered the most personal parts of the testament – were written in the first person singular, while the main body of the testament employed the third person singular.[88] Obviously, the scribe writing the will attempted to render the parts reflecting the personal feelings of the testator as faithfully as possible, while in recording the content he chose to use the grammatical form that the witnesses used. But we need to take into consideration that even in those cases in which in the *arengas* of the wills sometimes one can read theological-philosophical reflections on the brevity of earthly life and the happiness of eternal life, the authors were probably not the testators. In these cases the authors were presumably erudite members of the clergy. These very stylish reflections did not have any influence on the legitimacy of the wills; rather, their role was representative. Just as in the case of funeral processions, where priests, singing schoolboys, or the presence of the paupers clothed with the deceased's money highlighted the social status of the deceased, these reflections were meant to emphasise the popularity and reputation of the testator.

## *Conclusions*

The custom of making a will gained ground in Transylvania in the Middle Ages according to the existing and already customary practices of Christian Europe. Of course, this did not mean that the existing practice was completely taken over, since the local precedence law and customary law helped Hungarian testamentary law have its own, particular face. This is even truer in the case of wills of the citizens of towns where the town's own precedence law also influenced testamentary law. Cluj was no exception, in that its local precedence law was the main influence on the making of wills. This meant that any citizen of the town of Cluj had a right to make a will, but that they were only allowed to dispose of the possessions that they had acquired. The language of

[88] Katalin Szende drew a similar conclusion analysing the urban wills from Bratislava and Sopron (SZENDE, "Testaments and testimonies", p. 59).

the testaments is usually Latin, but this was not compulsory. In other towns of Transylvania wills are also preserved that were written in German. Formal requirements did not predominate. Most of the wills were communicated orally and written in a document later, most often with the help of the place of authentication of Cluj-Mănăştur. Wills first communicated orally, and later recorded in a document and authenticated, draw attention to a very important fact: it is highly probable that more wills were communicated orally than those which have been preserved in writing, since there were also people who did not have the financial means to have their will written down in a document at a place of authentication and had to be content to have an oral will. These oral wills should be considered just as legitimate as wills that were recorded in writing, because if the right number of witnesses were present, it would have had the same legal effect as a written will based on the testimony of the witnesses at the place of authentication. Despite this, from the inventory of the wills it seems that everyone, poor and wealthy alike, exercised their right to make a will and tried to have their wills recorded in a document, since wills written in a legal document were considered to have more legal power.

An analysis of the relationship between orality and literacy, based on the questions formulated in the introduction and using wills as primary sources, shows that the spread of literacy and the increasing pressure to record a will in writing does not at all mean the end of orality. Illiterate testators continued to orally communicate their wills according to the established norms; thus, we need to conclude that these did not rival each other, but were rather two different and also complementary procedures. Even in the case of written wills, it is obvious that scribes attempted to preserve orality and render the word of mouth as faithfully as possible. The most eloquent examples of this are wills formulated in the name of the testator after the testator's death. It is not difficult to imagine that in such cases the obvious reason was authenticity, rendering the feeling that the account of the will of the deceased was complete and precise. And this is even truer if also the fact that before, during, and after the making of the will there were expressly oral actions – traces of which were preserved in the written wills – is taken into consideration. For example the short dialogues between the priest and the testator, the family members and the testator, or the witnesses and the testator. It seems that in the Middle Ages written testaments never simply replaced their oral counterparts. Both remained closely connected to each other, even until modern times.

# Urban Testaments in Poland: Research Present and Future

JAKUB WYSMUŁEK

There are very few historical sources with so complicated and multi-dimensional a nature as medieval testaments. The complex nature of these acts is hidden under the outwardly well-known and understandable form of the disposition of one's last will, *ultima voluntatis*, known from the *ars moriendi* literature.[1] The testament was seen as an essential element of a good, Christian preparation for the afterlife, bidding farewell to earthly life. The dying person had to divide the wealth he had accumulated in life among his children, indicate remaining debts to be paid off, and generously give away part of his wealth in acts of piety, *opera pietatis*, which should ease his suffering in Purgatory and provide him a path to the life eternal.[2] Looking at the long history of the will merely from the point of view of moralistic literature, however, leads to a significant reduction in research perspectives; this might result in one-sided and static outcomes. The wealth of information contained in wills

[1] M. Włodarski, *Ars moriendi w literaturze polskiej XV i XVI w.* (Cracow, 1987).

[2] K. Bracha, *Nauczanie kaznodziejskie w Polsce późnego średniowiecza* (Kielce, 2007), pp. 159-176.

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 299-312.

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cannot be properly used and interpreted without examining the role these acts played in the changing social and cultural context of the medieval period.

Among other approaches, the history of the will can be perceived as part of the twin processes of releasing the individual from the traditional bonds imposed on him by his kin group, and of the extraction of private property from types of family ownership common earlier on.[3] The complex dynamic transformation of the social sphere – in which estates became the object of financial transactions,[4] women received the right to inherit property,[5] and next to the old distinction of movable and immovable goods a third category of acquired goods came about[6] – played a groundbreaking role in the modernisation of the medieval world. These changes gained momentum especially in the cities, which performed the role of economic and commercial centres, where money rather than honours and titles determined an individual's place in the social hierarchy.

An institution that played a crucial role in this transformation was the Church. Its actions can be assessed in terms of ideology or practicality. Ideologically, both the idea of the equality of all people before God and before death (which has its vivid image in the theme of the *danse macabre*) and the medieval development of the idea of the trial of the soul of the deceased (known from images in the *ars moriendi*) formed conditions under which the individual acted as a subject and an actor actively struggling for his own success in his earthly and heavenly life.[7] To the Church should be also attributed a significant impact on the foundation of the notion of love and of the unity of marriage, and, therefore, the formation of a new model of the nuclear family, a model which was dominant in the medieval period. The Church influenced the equality of male and female children to the rights to the inheritance, and

[3] P. Dąbkowski, *Prawo prywatne polskie*, 2 vols. (Lwów, 1910-1911), 2, p. 505; K. Bukowska, *Orzecznictwo krakowskich sądów wyższych w sporach o nieruchomości miejskie (XVI-XVIII w.)* (Warsaw, 1997).

[4] A. Vetulani, *Z badań nad kulturą prawniczą w Polsce piastowskiej* (Wrocław, 1976), p. 207.

[5] M.M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England: From the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteen Century* (Toronto, 1963), pp. 234-241; J. Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge, 1983).

[6] K. Koranyi, "Podstawy średniowiecznego prawa spadkowego", *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Prawny* 9.2 (1930), pp. 115-118.

[7] J. Le Goff, *Le Moyen Âge et l'argent: Essai d'anthropologie historique* (Paris, 2010); I used the Polish translation, *Średniowiecze i pieniądze: Esej z antropologii historycznej*, transl. B. Baran (Warsaw, 2011), pp. 80-105.

thus undermined extant traditional ways of transferring inherited goods through the male line, thereby weakening the economic position of the kin group.[8]

These notions brought certain benefits to the Church as an institution and to its pastors. The radical reduction of possibilities of marriages between closely related persons, as well as the prohibition of adoption and concubinage, contributed to the erosion of the traditional forms of maintaining the strength of a family, and weakened the ties bonding its members.[9] On the ruins of the old structures a new community of believers was built up, the *congregatio fidelium*. At the same time, entrusting man with the mission of saving his own soul through the symbolic "inclusion of Christ among the heirs", allowed the Church rapidly to accumulate goods.[10] The institution of the will, remembered and transformed in the mid-twelfth century, allowed in a very effective way to help the transition of the property of laymen into the hands of the Church. Canon law procedures enabling the making of last wills were simplified, and their care was entrusted directly to the bishops.[11]

In the Polish lands, the concept of the last will appears around the middle of the twelfth century.[12] In the thirteenth century, the number of testamentary pious donations made by members of local elites is clearly growing.[13] What is more, there seems to be a link between the emergence of the 'canonical testament' and the arrival of the new religious orders (initially the Cistercians, but then mostly the mendicants orders). Because of conflicts with disinherited relatives, wills were put under the protection of both papal legates and bishops, who threatened to excommunicate rebellious and local rulers.

[8] Z. RYMASZEWSKI, *Prawo bliższości krewnych w polskim prawie ziemskim do końca XV wieku* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1970), pp. 172-172, 183-187.

[9] GOODY, *The development*, pp. 55-59, 73, 144.

[10] SHEEHAN, *The Will*, p. 11; G. SCHULZ, *Testamente des späten Mittelalters aus dem Mittelrheingebiet: Eine Untersuchung in rechts- und kulturgeschichtlicher Hinsicht* (Mainz 1976), p. 2; P. BAUR, *Testament und Bürgerschaft, Alltagsleben und Sachkultur im spätmittelalterlichen Konstanz* (Sigmaringen, 1989), p. 12; B. KLOSTERBERG, *Zur Ehre Gottes und zum Wohl der Familie: Kölner Testamente von Laien und Klerikern im Spätmittelalter* (Cologne, 1995), pp. 53-54.

[11] "The Church was not content to urge that these legacies be given; she even interested herself in their accomplishment. Councils of the fifth century excommunicated those who failed to distribute bequests in alms according to the wishes of the dead. The bishop became concerned with the supervision of the delivery of these legacies, and in time the laws of Justinian confirmed certain rights to him in this regard" (SHEEHAN, *The Will*, p. 11).

[12] *Najstarszy zwód prawa polskiego*, ed. J. MATUSZEWSKI (Łódź, 1995), pp. 85-87.

[13] J. WYSMUŁEK, *Testamenty mieszczan krakowskich (XIV-XV wiek)* (in press).

## *Municipal Wills*

The development of cities in Poland was a long-term process, which had its origins in the days before the *locatio*.[14] The real stimulus that created the conditions for the burghers' estate to emerge was the adoption of German municipal law.[15] The system was introduced in the second half of the thirteenth century in many cities of Silesia, followed by those of Lesser Poland, Greater Poland, and Red Ruthenia (Lviv). It was based mainly on two sources: the *Weichbild* of Magdeburg (*Ius municipale*) and the *Sachsenspiegel* (literally, 'Saxon mirror'). Its rules of succession did not differ much from Polish common law.[16] Succession was based on a system of separate estates in matrimony and on the statutory succession of patrimony (immovables) by relatives according to legal order. As a consequence of this type of succession, a wife was not involved in the heritage of her husband, while he, in case the couple were childless, had to give away to his wife's heirs only half of the estate.[17] The movables were divided into *hergewet* ('the heritage of a man') and *gerade* ('the heritage of a woman').[18] On the territory of Teutonic Order and in Masovia, cities applied Magdeburg law with elements of Flemish law. This was Kulm law (*Ius Culmense*), in which a spouse received half of the estate, while the rest was taken by children or grandchildren. Women and men had equal rights to the inheritance.[19]

The very first urban testament in Polish lands dates from 1303.[20] Among the earlier records in the oldest Cracow town book, however, we already find different kinds of property dispositions in favour of relatives.[21] In the subse-

[14] J. WYROZUMSKI, "Lokacja czy lokacje Krakowa na prawie niemieckim?", in: *Kraków: Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*, ed. J. WYROZUMSKI (Cracow, 2007), pp. 121-151.

[15] Z. RYMASZEWSKI, *Miejskość czy wiejskość prawa niemieckiego w Polsce* (Łódz, 1970: *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego*, 1st series: *Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne* 69).

[16] RYMASZEWSKI, *Prawo bliższości krewnych*, pp. 172-172, 183-187.

[17] U. SOWINA, "Testamenty mieszczan krakowskich o przekazywaniu majątku w późnym średniowieczu i we wczesnej nowożytności", in: *Sociální svět středověkého města*, ed. M. NODL (Prague, 2006: *Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia*), pp.173-183, at p.176.

[18] B. GROICKI, *Tytuły prawa magdeburskiego* (Warsaw, 1954), pp. 5-6, 15-16.

[19] T. MACIEJOWSKI, *Wilkierze miasta Torunia* (Poznań, 1997), p. 68.

[20] It is edited in *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa, 1253-1505*, ed. F. PIEKOSIŃSKI, 3 vols. (Cracow, 1882), 3, No. 368; see also T. DOBROWOLSKI, *Sztuka Krakowa* (Cracow, 1978), p. 68.

[21] *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa od r. 1300 do 1400*, ed. F. PIEKOSIŃSKI and J. SZUJSKI (Cracow, 1878: *Monumenta medii aevi res gestae Poloniae illustrantia* 4), p. 6, No. 13.

quent two centuries we can observe a steady and considerable increase in this type of last will. This is different from the situation among Polish noblemen in the late Middle Ages, and especially in the early modern period.[22] It can be partially explained by the dynamic life of the burghers and the versatile character of their activities, resulting in the freedom of administering immovables (investments) both in life and after death. The traditional character of immovable heritage was not to be maintained in the new economic situation. Meanwhile, for the noblemen, retaining the landed estate became the *sine qua non* for maintaining the position of the individual and his whole family.

In the year 1500, in the Kingdom of Poland and the lands of Prussia and Masovia, there were six cities with a number of inhabitants exceeding 10,000, and about twenty to twenty-five cities with 2000 inhabitants. In the majority of these larger cities testaments from the fourteenth and particularly from the fifteenth centuries have been preserved,[23] sometimes as separate documents, and sometimes in the records of the municipal councils. Most of them survive in municipal registers, mainly in books issued by the jury according to the municipal law, for such legal documents were to be approved and confirmed in front of a municipal jury.[24] In the second half of the fifteenth century the number of testaments made by inhabitants of the small and very small towns (numbering 300 to 1500 inhabitants) typical for medieval Poland, was also constantly growing.

In Cracow, which has been at the centre of my research, the legal system was based on the Saxon Mirror and the Magdeburg law. The rights of relatives were secured against attempts to alienate the heritage without their consent. In books and documents of the city from the very beginning of the fourteenth century onwards both wills and other kinds of *donationes mortis causa* records have been listed. In my investigation of Cracow sources 537 records of last wills were found, made by 447 people over a period of two hundred years. In my research I included also complex records indicating self-reflection and a desire for the distribution of a substantial part of the assets both to family and to religious institutions.

[22] DĄBKOWSKI, *Prawo prywatne polskie*, 2, pp. 77-78.

[23] B. MOŻEJKO, "Gdański mieszczanin w obliczu śmierci: Zapisy testamentowe z II połowy XV w. (na podstawie księgi ławniczej)", in: *Mieszczanie, wasale, zakonnicy*, ed. B. ŚLIWIŃSKI (Małbork, 2004: *Studia z dziejów średniowiecza* 10), pp. 127-162, at pp. 131-132; *Księga ławnicza Starego Miasta Torunia (1428-1456)*, ed. K. CIESIELSKA and J. TANDECKI (Toruń, 1992).

[24] GROICKI, *Tytuły prawa majdeburskiego*, pp. 178-179.

For the greatest part of the fourteenth century, the wills of townspeople had a strictly religious nature; they contained only pious bequests intended for the salvation of the soul of the testator and his family members. However, beside the acts defined as *testamentum seu ultima voluntatis*, in the municipal books we may often come across records devoid of such terminology, but nevertheless intended for the distribution of goods to relatives in case of death. These acts, for which the German literature adopted the term *gescheffte testament*,[25] were formed on the basis of municipal law, using the newly developed concept of 'acquired goods'. In late fourteenth-century Cracow a combination of such records with the concept of the canonical testament occurred. From that moment on, we can talk about the creation of a modern, urban form of last will acts, expressed in both secular and pious records. These documents, whether they contained *opera pietatis* bequests or only legacies for lay people, were named 'testaments'.

In late fourteenth-century Cracow the city council, which played a major role in the dissemination and formalisation of wills in the city, took upon itself the obligation to visit the sick in order to receive the dispositions of their last wills. It is worth mentioning that this custom was in fact contrary to Magdeburg law. Due in part to the introduction of this practice, in 1396 the city council started the first book of wills, the *liber testamentorum et dotaliciorum*.[26] From now on, in the books of the court and the city council different types of records, described as 'testaments', were entered. These documents were done

[25] "*Neben diesem aus dem römischen Recht stammenden Ausdruck* testamentum *kennen die deutschen Quellen des Magdeburger Rechtes eine ganze Anzahl deutscher Wörter für einseitige Verfügungen von Todes wegen. Am häufigsten findet sich der Ausdruck 'bescheidung', 'bescheiden'. Ja es scheint, als ob dieser Ausdruck als technischer für testieren allein gebraucht worden ist; es ist mir jedenfalls keine Stelle bekannt, in der 'bescheiden' auch von einer Vergabung gesagt wird. Ferner finden sich zur Bezeichnung von Testamenten Ausdrücke wie 'schikung', 'vormackung', 'geschefft', 'gestifte', 'letzter wille', 'ordnungett' auch 'seelgerethe' wird allgemein für Testament nicht nur für fromme Stiftungen verwendet. Auch Ausdrücke wie 'bedenken' oder 'geben an seinem letzten ende' oder 'sin ding berichten' oder 'setzen', und andere mehr werden von einseitigen Verfügungen von Todes wegen gebraucht. Man darf jedoch nicht glauben, dass alle diese Ausdrücke nur für einseitige Verfügungen von Todes wegen angewendet werden. Wie man mit testamentum sowohl einseitige wie zweiseitige Verfügungen von Todes wegen bezeichnete, so verstand man unter den meisten der angegebenen Wörter ebenfalls nicht nur einseitige Verfügungen von Todes wegen. Viele von ihnen finden wir auch bei den Vergabungen wieder*" (O. LOENING, *Das Testament im Gebiet des Magdeburger Stadtrechtes* (Wrocław, 1906), pp. 34-35).

[26] *Registra perceptorum et distributorum civitatis Cracoviensis annorum 1390-1393, 1395-1405 nec non 1407-1410*, ed. F. PIEKOSIŃSKI, in : *Libri antiquissimi civitatis Cracoviae saeculi decimi quinti*, *pars posterior* (Cracow, 1877), p. 313.

either in person by the testator, or in front of one of the municipal offices, and they could also have the form of a 'closed will' brought for authentication by the city officials after the testator's death. In the city's books, beside the 'deathbed wills' made by those who, in accordance with the *ars bene moriendi*, wanted to leave this world in the Christian way, there were also many records of wills of healthy individuals. They were usually made before heading off on pilgrimage, travel for trade, or after a new marriage or gaining an inheritance; they meant to regulate a new financial situation.

Further changes in testamentary practice occurred in Cracow only in the second half of the fifteenth century. Probably under the influence of the pilgrimage plans of many citizens for the upcoming jubilee of 1450,[27] the city council decided to start another book of wills. This ended up containing a significant proportion of all preserved medieval acts of last wills. Starting from the 1470s we can also observe the phenomenon of the municipal court's supervision of wills. Afterwards, the number of wills recorded in the pages of council books and in the *liber testamentorum* is reduced dramatically, while the number of such acts in the books kept by the Cracow jury is increasing. The reasons for this phenomenon can be seen in the relative growth in the numbers of wills in the urban environment, an increase of the councillors' burden of 'travels for testament' to the sick, and in a growing fear of epidemics of infectious diseases. In addition one should take into account the profound reception of Magdeburg law by the end of the century. According to this law, the court should exercise authority over any transactions involving property in the city.

In the other cities in the lands of Polish Kingdom the situation could be different. Often, especially in the smaller cities, the councillors were sent to dying people who wished to dictate their last will. As a consequence testaments were most often entered into the registers of the council (Pszczyna, Chrzanów, Czchów, Nowa Warszawa). In middle-sized cities (of about 2000 inhabitants), however, we find testaments more often in books issued by the jury (Bochnia, Płock, Przeworsk, Stara Warszawa, Nowy Sącz, Warta, Radziejów). Testaments written on separate sheets of paper and kept in this form in municipal archives are exceptional (Cracow, Stara Warszawa). There is also a considerable number of last wills in the form of notarial deeds (Stara Warszawa, Płock, Sandomierz, Koło). For this reason, archival inquiry has to take into account all preserved books from municipal courts, and all paper and parchment single-

[27] H. MANIKOWSKA, *Jerozolima – Rzym – Compostela: Wielkie pielgrzymowanie u schyłku średniowiecza* (Wrocław, 2008), pp. 7-8, 247-253.

sheet documents as well. At the same time we should not forget the urban wills certified by church authorities, which were kept mainly in church archives. Thanks to them we have been able to find testaments drawn up by inhabitants of cities from which municipal records have not survived. This concerns the majority of small and middle-sized cities (e.g. the records of the Pułtusk consistory, which contains testaments of the inhabitants of the small cities of Masovia from the beginning of the sixteenth century). Current research proves that in in the municipal records can be found testaments of people from all walks of life: serfs,[28] nobles, clergy (Pszczyna), and even a duchess (Cracow).

## *Previous Research*

Although the promises of research into testaments have been frequently mentioned in specialist literature, the output of Polish historiography on the subject is not extensive. For a long time there was no monograph in which these types of sources were exploited in a wider context. The period from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries has been described in some studies (particularly since the 1980s), especially in terms of the different cultural practices and social relations of testators from different social strata. We should mention here the studies of Katarzyna Zielińska[29] and Andrzej Karpiński,[30] whose work,

[28] See *infra*, n. 35.

[29] K. ZIELIŃSKA, "Więzi społeczne w połowie XVII wieku w świetle testamentów konsystorza pułtuskiego", *Przegląd Historyczny* 77.1 (1986), pp. 45-59, at p. 46.

[30] A. KARPIŃSKI, *Zapisy "pobożne" i postawy religijne mieszczanek polskich w świetle testamentów z drugiej połowy XVI i XVII w.* (Warsaw, 1989).

[31] M. BORKOWSKA, *Dekret w niebieskim ferowany parlamencie: Wybór testamentów z XVII i XVIII wieku* (Cracow, 1984); S. KRAKOWSKI, "Mieszczanie częstochowscy w XVII wieku w świetle testamentów", *Ziemia Częstochowska* 5 (1965), pp. 115-125; G. HUSZAŁ, "Przygotowanie do śmierci w XVII w.", *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 31.2 (1983), pp. 105-150; W. KOWALSKI, "Testament daleszyckiego rajcy z 1637 roku", *Studia Kieleckie* 45.1 (1985), pp. 129-135; S. HOŁDYS, "Więzi rodzinne w świetle mieszczańskich testamentów z pierwszej połowy XVII wieku", *Studia Historyczne* 29.3 (1986), pp. 347-357; *Testamenty szlachty krakowskiej XVII-XVIII: Wybór tekstów źródłowych z lat 1650-1799*, ed. A. FALNIOWSKA-GRADOWSKA (Cracow, 1997); U. AUGUSTYNIAK, "Wizerunek Krzysztofa II Radziwiłła jako magnata-ewangelika w świetle jego testamentów", *Przegląd Historyczny* 81.3-4 (1990), pp. 461-477; H. ŻEREK-KLESZCZ, "Testamenty mieszczan pabianickich w XVII-XVIII wieku", *Pabianiciana* 1(1992), pp. 37-50; M. BOGUCKA, "Testament burmistrza gdańskiego Hansa Speymana z 1625 r.", in: *Kultura średniowieczna i staropolska: Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. D. GAWINOWA (Warsaw, 1991), pp. 587-597; A. POŚPIECH, *Pułapka oczywistości: Pośmiertne spisy ruchomości szlachty wielkopolskiej z XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1992); M. ALEKSAN-

based on last wills and testaments, presented the subject of social relations and religiosity in an innovative manner. These historians were followed by other Polish researchers, who also analysed testaments from the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, often on a regional or micro-historical level.[31] Some researchers focused their studies on linguistic analysis.[32]

For the very first time an in-depth study of medieval testaments was carried out by Henryk Samsonowicz in his work concerning the burghers of Gdańsk in the second half of the fifteenth century.[33] This study focused mainly on economic and social issues. His article from 1976 regarding the philanthropy of burghers in the late Middle Ages also proved an important contribution to modern research.[34]

DROWICZ-SZMULIKOWSKA, *Radziwiłłówny w świetle swoich testamentów: Przyczynek do badań mentalności magnackiej XVI-XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1995); J. DUMANOWSKI, "Torunianin z wyboru: Z testamentu biskupa Stanisława Dąbskiego", *Rocznik Toruński* 26 (1999), pp. 91-105; ID., "'*Pompa funebris*'? Z testamentów szlachty wielkopolskiej XVIII", in: *Wesela, chrzciny i pogrzeby w XVI-XVIII wieku: Kultura życia i śmierci*, ed. H. SUCHOJAD (Warsaw, 2001), pp. 315-322; H. SUCHOJAD, "Wyposażenie siedzib duchownych i szlacheckich w świetle testamentów z XVII-XVIII wieku na terenie województwa sandomierskiego", in: *Dwór polski: Zjawisko historyczne i kulturowe* (Warsaw, 2000), pp. 449-467; ID., "Rozstanie ze światem doczesnym księdza Jakuba Grometiusa (1572-1651), plebana w Gnojnie (w świetle testamentu i towarzyszących mu dokumentów)", in: *Wesela, chrzciny i pogrzeby w XVI-XVIII wieku*, pp. 315-322; J. GŁÓWKA, "Testamenty mieszczan kieleckich z końca XVIII w.: Zwierciadłem epoki (w świetle księgi rady miejskiej Kielc 1789-1792)", in: *Wesela chrzciny i pogrzeby w XVI-XVIII wieku*, pp. 323-332; ID., "Podstawy prawne testamentów i inwentarzy pośmiertnych duchowieństwa katolickiego w Polsce w epoce potrydenckiej", *Archeologia Historica Polona* 5 (1997), pp. 203-210; ID., *Majątek osobisty duchowieństwa katolickiego w Koronie w XVII i XVIII wieku* (Warsaw, 2004); T.M. TRAJDOS, "Testament Stanisława Moniaka", *Rocznik Babiogórski* 4 (2002), pp. 215-223; J. SEREDYKA, "Testament Krzysztofa Moniwida Dorohostajskiego", in: Aere perennius: *Profesorowi Gerardowi Labudzie dnia 28 XII 2001 w hołdzie*, ed. M. KOSMAN (Poznań and Wrocław, 2001), pp. 115-129; Cui contingit nasci, restat mori: *Wybór testamentów staropolskich z województwa sandomierskiego*, ed. M. LUBCZYŃSKI, J. PIELAS, and H. SUCHOJAD (Warsaw, 2005).

[32] B. ŻMIGRODZKA, *Testament jako gatunek tekstu* (Katowice, 1970); EAD., "Realizacje tekstowe performatywu 'zapisuję' w testamentach polskich XVII i XVIII wieku", *Prace Naukowe UŚW Katowicech: Prace Językoznawcze* 25 (1998), pp. 284-292; L. TYMIAKIN, "O formułach w XVII-wiecznym testamencie przemyskim", *Rocznik Przemyski* 27 (1990), pp. 141-145; T. FRIEDELÓWNA, "Język polskich testamentów z ksiąg ławniczych Torunia", *Polszczyzna regionalna Pomorza* 7 (1996), pp. 31-42; D. BIEŃKOWSKA, "Cechy języka i stylu pomorskich testamentów (ze zbiorów Archiwum Państwowgo w Gdańsku)", *Polszczyzna Regionalna Pomorza* 8 (1998), pp. 179-185.

[33] H. SAMSONOWICZ, *Badania nad kapitałem mieszczańskim Gdańska w II połowie XV wieku* (Warsaw, 1960: *Badania z dziejów rzemiosła i handlu w epoce feudalnej: Prace Instytutu Historycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* 5).

[34] H. SAMSONOWICZ, "Mieszczańska dobroczynność prywatna w Polsce późnego średnio-

The real precursor of recent research on medieval testaments is undoubtedly Urszula Sowina, who devoted several publications to this subject. In a book from 1991 she analysed urban testaments from the middle-sized town of Sieradz, creating at the same time a questionnaire for future research on the medieval stratum of burghers on the basis of their bequests.[35] Some authors also conducted micro-historical researches on the basis of the preserved medieval last wills.[36]

An initial analysis and general description of the contents of urban medieval testaments (especially from the city of Cracow) has been conducted by Hanna Zaremska in her article "Man in the face of death: Ideas and rituals". This work discusses noticeable tendencies present in testaments, mainly from the *liber testamentorum*. The author also tries to explain testaments in the light of the eschatological fears so common in those times.[37]

An essential and necessary query and analysis of Polish municipal books from the medieval period has been conducted by Agnieszka Bartoszewicz in her works, which enable us to apprehend the meaning of testaments from the

wiecza", in: Cultus et cognitio*: Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury* (Warsaw, 1976), pp. 505-511.

[35] U. SOWINA, "Najstarsze sieradzkie testamenty mieszczańskie z początku XVI w.: Analiza źródłoznawcza", *Kwartalnik historii kultury materialnej* 39.1 (1991), pp. 3-25; EAD., "Testament pewnego kmiecia: Przyczynek do badań nad relacjami międzystanowymi w późnym średniowieczu i wczesnej nowożytności", in: Civitas & villa*: Miasto i wieś w średniowiecznej Europie Środkowej*, ed. C. BUŚKO (Wrocław and Prague, 2002), pp. 209-214.

[36] E. WÓŁKIEWICZ, "Testament Anny Isenecher jako Źródło do badań mikrohistorycznych: Próba ustalenia kręgu towarzyskiego śląskiej mieszczanki z XIV wieku", *Zeszyty Historyczne WSP w Częstochowie* 6 (2000), pp. 385-399. From the many case studies, the following may be mentioned: W. SZELIŃSKA, "Dwa testamenty Jana Dąbrówki: Z dziejów życia umysłowego Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w połowie XV wieku", *Studia i materiały z dziejów nauki polskiej*, seria A, 5 (1962), pp. 1-40; M. KOCZERSKA, "Testamenty kanonika tarnowskiego i plebana Wszystkich Świętych w Krakowie", in: *Ludzie, kościół, wierzenia: Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa Europy Środkowej (średniowiecze – wczesna epoka nowożytna)* (Warsaw, 2001), pp. 237-254; F. SIKORA, "Testament Przedbora z Koniecpola z roku 1460", *Studia Historyczne* 26.2 (1983), pp. 297-314; M. KOWALCZYK, "Testament biskupa krakowskiego Floriana z Mokrska", *Studia źródłoznawcze* 41 (2003), pp. 65-70; *Księga Jubileuszowa Profesora Feliksa Kiryka*, ed. A. and J. SZYMCZAKOVI (Cracow, 2004: *Annales Akademie Paedagogicae Cracoviensis* 21, *Studia Historica* 4), pp. 421-430; R. ŻERELIK, "Testament Franciszka Koeckritza zwanego Faberem, pisarza miasta Wrocławia w latach 1542-1565", in: *Materiały z IV sesji naukowej Uniwersyteckiego Centrum Archeologii średniowiecza i nowożytności, "Życie codzienne w średniowiecznym mieście" Sobótka-Górka października 1996 roku*, ed. J. OLCZAK (Toruń, 1998), pp. 93-102; *Zbiór dokumentów i listów miasta Płocka*, ed. S.M. SZACHERSKA, 1 (Warsaw, 1975).

[37] ZAREMSKA, "Człowiek wobec śmierci: wyobrażenia i rytuały".

small cities and towns which until now have been little examined by historians.[38]

In recent years, more work has been devoted to the study of medieval wills. An important introduction is an article by Elżbieta Piwowarczyk and Przemysław Tyszka, "Discussion on the religiosity of the burghers of Cracow on the basis of bequests in favour of church institutions from the fifteenth century, contained in the *liber testamentorum* (RKPS 77)".[39] Another article was published about testaments from Elbląg.[40] Extensive work on religious foundations in Prussian cities in medieval and early modern times by Piotr Oliński was published in 2008.[41] Two important works on the study of wills in Poland came out in 2010. One of them is devoted to wills from Gdańsk and their religious and social meaning,[42] while the other is focused on fifteenth-century *ad pias causas* bequests from Cracow.[43] In print is also a monograph on the wills of Cracow burghers from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[44]

In Polish research on late medieval and early modern wills, an important role is played by a research project started in 2007 at the Institute of History of Warsaw University, entitled "The testament as a historical source". It is led by Urszula Augustyniak, Andrzej Karpiński and Agnieszka Bartoszewicz. Participants in the project are working on the edition of catalogues of wills from this period from the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; for this reason researchers from Belarus and the Ukraine also take part. The main aim of this research group is to provide a better understanding of pre-modern wills, and to establish new methods for their analysis.

[38] A. Bartoszewicz, C*zas w małych miastach: Studium z dziejów kultury umysłowej późnośredniowiecznej Polski* (Warsaw and Pułtusk, 2003); *Piśmienność mieszczańska w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce* (Warsaw, 2012).

[39] E. Piwowarczyk and P. Tyszka, "Przyczynek do pobożności mieszczan krakowskich na podstawie xv – wiecznych legatów w Liber testamentorum (RKPS 772)", *Nasza Przeszłość* 105 (2006), pp. 7-42.

[40] R. Kubicki, "Testamenty elbląskie z xiv-początków xvi w.: Charakterystyka wraz z listą testatorów w układzie chronologicznym", *Rocznik Elbląski* 20 (2006), pp. 199-208.

[41] P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich w okresie średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych (Chełmno, Toruń, Elbląg, Gdańsk, Królewiec, Braniewo)* (Toruń, 2008).

[42] B. Możejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem doczesnym: Gdańskie testamenty mieszczańskie z xv i początku xvi wieku* (Gdańsk, 2010).

[43] E. Piwowarczyk, *Legaty testamentowe ad pias causas w xv-wiecznym Krakowie: Z badań nad pobożnością miejską* (Cracow, 2010).

[44] Wysmułek, *Testamenty mieszczan krakowskich (XIV-XV wiek)*.

## *Some Results of the Cracow Wills Inquiry*

On the basis of the analysis of the preserved Cracow wills, we can draw the conclusion that they were highly appreciated especially by the urban elites. First and most obviously, this class was wealthy enough to be able to bequeath part of their estate to the Church; secondly, they aspired to maintain a life similar to the one enjoyed by the noblemen; and thirdly, their lifestyle was developing within the newly forming pre-capitalistic economic structures which resulted in new manifestations of culture and in new mentalities among the members of this social stratum. All these factors created favourable conditions for the emergence of urban testaments.[45]

An analysis of the wealth, social status and origin of Cracow testators allowed us to demonstrate a significant share of councillors' and lawyers' family members in this group (they formed at least a quarter of all testators); there numbers declined, however, with the growing popularity of such acts during the fifteenth century. Research carried out on the professions of the testators demonstrated that the dominant position in this group was occupied by people engaged in trade. A clear classification of the testators' occupations is often very difficult to determine, however, even when they were seniors or masters of their guilds. It may be concluded that among the artisans-testators we find most often people performing the professions considered to be the most prestigious and lucrative, such as goldsmiths and girdlers, representatives of the food crafts (brewers, malters, innkeepers, butchers and bakers), tailors, furriers, and representatives of crafts related to the production of weapons. Quite large numbers represent the professionals of the written word, such as municipal scribes and professional court representatives.

The changes that were gradually introduced into municipal law, and the process of dissemination of the wills among different strata of the Cracow population, enabled citizens to plan the distribution of the possessions they had accumulated over the years, to ensure their family's prosperity in the future. In most cases, only the testator's spouse and children are mentioned. There is also a number of wills, however, in which not only close and distant relatives of the deceased were generously endowed, but also servants, friends and colleagues.

In the light of these wills we can observe the functioning of two different models of burghers' families. On the one hand we have the small nuclear fam-

[45] M. Bogucka and H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1986), p. 44.

ily of the craftsmen – this is a typically urban phenomenon. On the other hand, we can find traces of the emergence of an extended family in the circles of patricians. The main differences between the patrician family and that of ordinary middle-class burghers were caused by the cultural differences between the urban elites and the rest of the municipality, and by the nature of their work, their background and mode of life. For the municipal elites, an extended family was the essence of their activities; its existence was a precondition for achieving social and financial influence.

New people entered the circle of urban elites primarily through well-planned marriages with the daughters and widows of patricians. Big commercial companies relied heavily on family contacts; members of Cracow's merchant families settled in cities economically linked with Cracow, thus creating branches of the family business. For the elites, numerous relatives were important as the social capital used to accumulate economic capital. A different situation existed among the representatives of small trades and crafts, often first- or second-generation immigrants, whose success depended crucially on personal commitment and the possession of personal abilities. Among them the idea of their distant relatives, left behind in their home towns, aroused fear for the safety and peace of their children, and especially for that of the spouse.

The nature of the links uniting the late medieval bourgeois family itself was also changing. The ties of kinship were losing importance, while increasing attention was paid to gaining social ties, often in the form of contracts, but drawing their strength from the participants' emotional involvement. This new role of the family was sanctified by a church marriage. The home community also created strong relationships between people. Around it was formed an ancient concept of *familia,* which also included co-workers, household members and servants.

The records of the last wills also allow us to explore the nature of urban religiosity. In the late medieval period, piety had primarily a social dimension. This was influenced both by the traditional idea of the nature and role of the human community and by the clergy's model of religiosity. Changes in this situation (basically limited to social elites) affected the appearance of the new religious currents in these lands; they paid more attention to the inner, spiritual dimension of religion, and were related to a broadly understood *devotio moderna*.[46]

[46] A. Szulc, Homo Religiosus *późnego średniowiecza: Bernardyński model dewocji masowej* (Poznań, 2007), p. 45.

Research on manifestations of the testators' piety proves the dissemination of individual forms of piety, such as the frequent participation in confession and Holy Communion, in the practice of praying the rosary, and the reading of religious literature. These symptoms of involved elite religiosity, however, operated alongside more traditional practices, located in the borderland between officially sanctioned religion and folklore. To the common forms of piety apparently belonged votive offerings involving the transfer of valuable clothes and valuables in order to make liturgical objects from them. This treatment can be interpreted as a desire to participate in the sacred, which was located at the centre of the altar.

The last wills made by testators also allow us to see a direct link between the organisation of society and its religious practices. At each level of the social hierarchy, there were religious ceremonies trying to consolidate the community, to ease prevailing fears, and to ensure the contact with the *sacrum*. The ritualisation of family life, of the guild, of the parish or of the city ensured the cohesion of social groups, while preserving their internal hierarchy. In the family, this resulted in maintaining the memory of the ancestors and in emphasis on the authority of the head of the family over the other members of the family or household. In the city as a whole (for example during the Corpus Christi procession), it was displayed by the power of the city council and by the recognition of the place occupied in the social hierarchy by the various convents, crafts, and brotherhoods.

Despite the existence of a certain correlation between the increasing number of wills in a given year and the important events in that year, both of a social or a natural character, it seems nevertheless that personal factors prevailed in the decision of making one's last will. In the records we can only very rarely find a directly expressed fear of death. More often we have to deal with openly expressed concerns about greedy relatives, unfair priests or quarrelsome family members. Above all, last will records can be interpreted as the fear of oblivion: anxiety that descendants will die, that relatives will forget about dispositions entrusted to them, and that the books in which wills were entered will be destroyed. Hence one of the most important aims of testators in preparing their *ultima voluntatis* seems to be survival: the timeless human desire to stay as long as possible within living memory.

# Remembrance and Literacy: Memorial Practices of the Secular Clergy in Fifteenth-Century Bruges*

HENDRIK CALLEWIER

Late medieval Bruges counted within its walls no less than five parish churches and two collegiate churches, apart from numerous chapels and charitable institutions.[1] Several hundred clerics were attached to these institutions. It was a very heterogeneous group, with regard to their education, their origins and their career. The group included canons, parish priests, chaplains, sextons, singers, schoolmasters, and priests fulfilling numerous other ecclesiastical offices. For my PhD research,[2] I composed a prosopographic database of this section of the population.[3] For the period between 1411 and

* This paper owes much to Paul Trio for his helpful comments and criticism and to Marjan De Smet for the translation.

1 For an overview, see: M. RYCKAERT, *Historische stedenatlas van België: Brugge* (Brussels, 1991), pp. 206-229.

2 H. CALLEWIER, *De papen van Brugge: De seculiere clerus in een middeleeuwse wereldstad (1411-1477)* (PhD thesis Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, 2011).

3 On prosopography, see: H. DE RIDDER-SYMOENS, "Prosopografie en middeleeuwse geschiedenis: Een onmogelijk mogelijkheid?", *Handelingen van de Maatschappij voor Oudheid en Geschiedenis te Gent* 45 (1991), pp. 95-117; *Prosopography: Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. K.S.B. KEATS-ROHAN (Oxford, 2007: *Prosopographica et Genealogica*).

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 313-323.

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1477, it contains information about 1298 persons. This contribution considers which sources with regard to the memorial cults of these clerics have been preserved, and which foundations were realised. To what extent did these memorial practices, so typical of late medieval society,[4] engender their very own dynamics of literacy? I will attempt to formulate an answer to these questions on the basis of a case study, i.e. the clergy of the chapter of St. Donatian's church. This collegiate church numbered thirty canons, a dean and a provost, and it can be considered as one of the most prominent religious institutions of the Burgundian Low Countries.[5]

## *Sources*

First of all, we should mention the remarkable situation of the sources for late medieval Bruges in general, and for the church of St. Donatian in particular. Contrary to the situation in most other towns in the Low Countries, we have at our disposal remarkably large numbers of written sources for the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly in the archives of the ecclesiastical institutions. For the church of St. Donatian, we should point out the existence of more than a thousand charters covering the eleventh to fifteenth centuries; church accounts from the first half of the thirteenth century onwards; and an almost uninterrupted series of *acta capituli* ('capitular acts'), from 1345 onwards.[6] The town accounts of Bruges, on the contrary, have only

[4] P. TRIO, "Moordende concurrentie op de memoriemarkt: Een eerste verkenning van het fenomeen jaargetijde in de Lage Landen tijdens de late Middeleeuwen (ca. 1250 tot 1550)", in: *Herinnering in geschrift en praktijk in religieuze gemeenschappen uit de Lage Landen, 1000-1500*, ed. J. DEPLOIGE, B. MEIJNS, and R. NIP (Brussels, 2009), pp. 141-156; T. VAN BUEREN, "Care for the here and the hereafter: A multitude of possibilities", in: *Care for the Here and the Hereafter: Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages*, ed. T. VAN BUEREN and A. VAN LEERDAM (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 13-34.

[5] The classic study about the chapter of St. Donatian in this period is the unpublished thesis by R. DE KEYSER, *Het Sint-Donaaskapittel te Brugge (1350-1450): Bijdrage tot de studie van de hogere geestelijkheid tijdens de late Middeleeuwen* (PhD thesis Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, 1972). See also J. VAN DEN HEUVEL *et al.*, *Sint-Donaas en de voormalige Brugse kathedraal* (Brugge, 1978), and A.C. DE SCHREVEL, *Histoire du Séminaire de Bruges* (Brugge, 1883). Interesting are the many articles by A. DEWITTE, especially in the journal *Biekorf*, published during the period from 1970-2009.

[6] Bruges, Episcopal Archives, A. 240-265, A. 272-274, A. 47-58, G. 1-7. See the Inventory: B. JANSSENS DE BISTHOVEN and C. DE BACKER, *Inventaris van het bisschoppelijke archief van Brugge* (Leuven, 1984: *KADOC Inventarissen: Reeks B: Inventarissen van archieven*

been preserved from 1280 onwards, and for many other Flemish towns they are completely lacking before the fifteenth century.[7] The question is whether the earlier presence of, for instance, written serial sources in church archives is exclusively due to the high level of education of the clergy, or whether it may also have been the result of the better preservation of these sources. There is, however, no doubt that the Bruges clergy was an important catalyst for the cultural and intellectual life of the town. Probably half of the fifteenth-century clergy had attended university, and the other half would at least have enjoyed a quite decent education in a chapter school, or have trained with a priest.[8] This high level of education is definitively one of the explanations for the carefully preserved administrative documents in the religious institutions of late-medieval Bruges. A number of sources are directly linked to the memorial cults of the Bruges secular clergy. The most important among them are, undoubtedly, the testaments on the one hand, and the so-called 'necrological documents' (in the strict sense of the word) on the other hand.

## *Testamentary Practice*

The appearance of the first wills in the Low Countries is linked to the rediscovery of Roman law. In Italy and Southern France, this evolution took place at the end of the eleventh and in the twelfth centuries, and written wills already appeared during that period. No written wills are found in the Low Countries before the thirteenth century. By the fifteenth century, however, the practice was already widespread. In Flanders, the possibility of bequeathing property by will was rather limited in comparison to other regions, such as

*niet bewaard op het* KADOC 6). The oldest charters were edited in: V. LAMBERT, *De oorkonden van het Sint-Donatiaanskapittel te Brugge, 9de eeuw-1300*, 1 (Brussels, 2008: *Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis*).

[7] W. PREVENIER, "Quelques aspects des comptes communaux en Flandre au Moyen âge", in: *Financiën en boekhouding der steden van de* XIIIe *tot de* XVIe *eeuw: Internationaal Colloquium, Blankenberge 6-9-*IX*-1962* (Brussels, 1964: *Pro Civitate, Historische uitgaven, reeks in-8* 7), pp. 111-151, at pp. 116-117.

[8] R. DE KEYSER, "Chanoines séculiers et universités: Le cas de Saint-Donatien de Bruges (1350-1450)", in: *Les universités à la fin du moyen-âge*, ed. J. PACQUET and J. IJSEWIJN (Louvain, 1978: *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series 1*, *Studia* 6), pp. 584-597. On the education of the lower clergy in the Low Countries, especially curates, see: A.J. BIJSTERVELD, *Laverend tussen Kerk en wereld: De pastoors in Noord-Brabant 1400-1570* (Amsterdam, 1993), pp. 135-212.

Brabant.[9] Historiography usually cites this as one of the reasons why wills in Flanders were predominantly holographic in nature, or drawn up by the aldermen. In the Bruges chapter of St. Donatian, each canon had the right and indeed the duty to make a will, stating the destination of the goods he would leave behind after his death.[10] Most canons are known to have made wills, but only nine wills of the 143 residing canons have actually been preserved.[11] All wills were written in Latin. Apart from a single exception, all wills were drawn up by notaries. Only one canon recorded his will in his own hand. The wills were never drawn up by the aldermen. This proves that, contrary to what has often been assumed, the office of notary in Bruges in the fifteenth century was already well developed. The number of active notaries usually fluctuated around forty. Until now, no larger presence of notaries has been established for any other town of the Low Countries. Almost all of these notaries were clerics. The majority of them were attached to the chapter of St. Donatian. Indeed, almost all chapters' secretaries combined their office with the drawing up of notarial deeds. Additionally, quite a few chaplains and even canons acted as notaries. Some drew up deeds regularly, to obtain a supplementary income, others only occasionally and at the explicit request of friends or acquaintances.[12] The square in front of the church of St. Donatian, the so-called Burg, was an important centre of literacy, as notaries, copiers of manuscripts and booksellers all had their stalls there.[13] This meant that the canons must

[9] P. GODDING, *Le droit privé dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux du 12e au 18e siècle* (Brussels, 1987: *Académie Royale de Belgique: Mémoires de la classe des lettres: Collection in -4, 2e série* 14.1), pp. 393-395. On the nature of notarial acts in Flanders, see: P. SCHMIDT, "Les actes notariés en Flandre en Moyen Âge: Contribution à l'étude de la juridiction gracieuse", *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 61 (1993), pp. 33-52; P.L. NÈVE, *Schets van een geschiedenis van het notarisambt in het huidige België tot aan de Franse wetgeving*, (Nijmegen, 1995), p. 34; M. OOSTERBOSCH, "Het notariaat in de Belgische territoria tijdens de Middeleeuwen", in: *Het notariaat in België van Middeleeuwen tot heden*, ed. C. BRUNEEL, P. GODDING, and F. STEVENS (Brussels, 1998), pp. 11-94, at p. 85; J.M. MURRAY, W. PREVENIER and M. OOSTERBOSCH, *Notarial Instruments in Flanders between 1280 and 1452* (Brussels, 1995: *Koninklijke Academie van België: Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis*).

[10] DE KEYSER, *Het Sint-Donaaskapittel te Brugge*, p. 700.

[11] Some of them have been partially published in: A. DEROLEZ, *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii – The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries*, 1, *Province of West Flanders* (Brussels, 1994), pp. 72-87.

[12] H. CALLEWIER, "Brugge, 15de-eeuws centrum van het notariaat in de Nederlanden", *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis* 67 (2009), pp. 74-102. About the notaries of Bruges, see also: J.M. MURRAY, "Failure of corporation: Notaries public in medieval Bruges", *Journal of Medieval History* 12 (1986), pp. 155-166.

[13] L. GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, *L'oeuvre de Jean Brito, prototypographe brugeois: Étude*

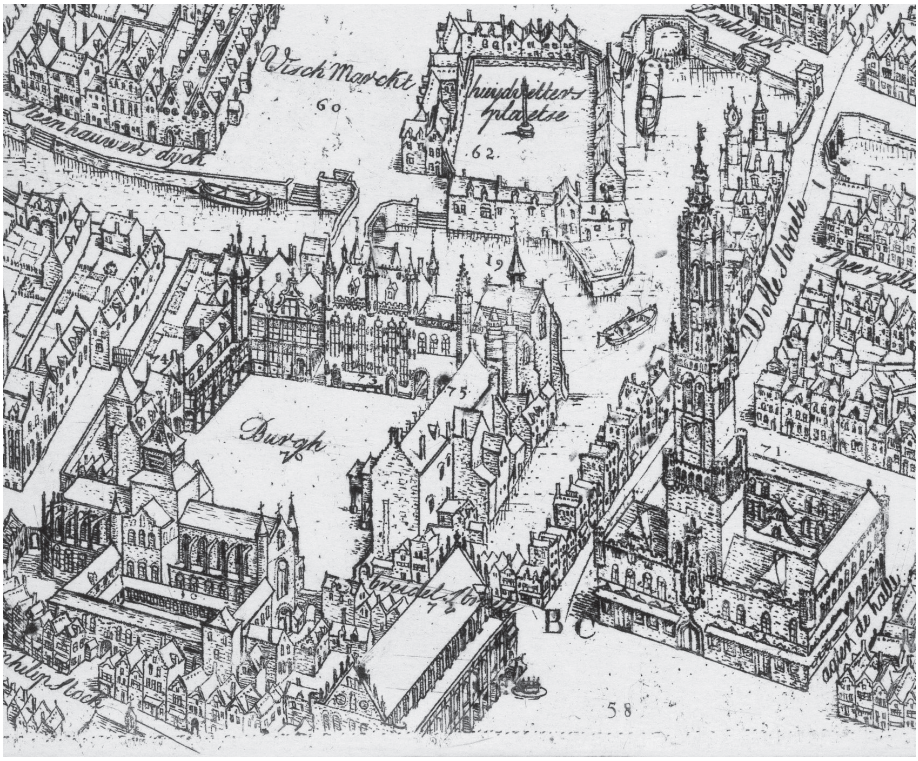


**Fig. 1** The city centre of Bruges. On the left: the church of St. Donatian and the 'Burg'. On the opposite side of the square, we see the town hall (detail of the map by Marcus Gerards, 1561, after M. RYCKAERT, *Historische stedenatlas*, pp. 10-15, 18-20).

have had little trouble finding notaries to draw up their wills, and therefore it is hardly surprising that most wills were composed at the end of their lives, some of them even on the testator's deathbed. In this way, the memorial cult in the church of St. Donatian generated a written production of its own.

*critique pour servir d'introduction à l'histoire de l'ancienne corporation des libraireurs et imprimeurs de Bruges* (Bruges, 1897: *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis "Société d'Emulation" te Brugge* 47), pp. 353, 490-494, 503-504; A. HIMPE, *Studie over het humanisme aan het Sint-Donaaskapittel te Brugge* (MA thesis, Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, 1941), pp. 54-55; A. VERNIMME, *Het librariërsgilde te Brugge: Een sociaal-culturele studie* (MA thesis, Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, 1995), p. 14. Until 1484, the printer Colard Mansion also rented a stall close to the church of St. Donatian.

The preserved wills of the canons of St. Donatian were all composed according to a fixed outline.[14] This was not just typical of the Bruges notaries, but of notaries in general. First of all, it was stressed that the testator, though sometimes suffering from physical infirmity, was still in full possession of all his mental faculties. Next, the frailty of human life and the inevitability of death were emphasised ("*sciens quod nihil certius morte*"). The testator recommended his soul to the Almighty Creator, His Glorious Mother and all Celestial Hosts ("*animam commendavit deo creatori suo et gloriosissime virgini Marie* ..."). He also wanted to clear his conscience with regard to his treatment of his fellow men: all his outstanding debts were to be paid in full, and in the event that he had misappropriated any goods, they were to be returned. This was followed by the arrangement of the funeral: the choice of the site for the grave, details concerning the funeral service and the foundation of an anniversary. Next came the personal legacies to members of the church community, servants, family members and friends. Remarkable here is the concern to give satisfaction to anyone towards whom one still might have an obligation. One did not only wish to see all pecuniary debts cleared, but also the more intangible obligations towards persons one might have somehow injured during one's life.

The wills are pervaded by a clear undertone of uncertainty regarding what will follow after death: either eternal bliss or eternal damnation. That the formulas used are not mere commonplaces becomes clear from the explicit concern of the testator to redress any injustice he might have inflicted on his fellow man, and the intention to stand before his final Judge a repentant sinner. *In extremis*, all things askew have to be put straight. In addition, any obligations resulting from illicit relationships had to be consolidated. Wife and child were not to be left behind without sufficient means to live. Provost Guillelmus Vernachten, for instance, felt morally obliged to give an additional dowry to Elisabeth Steyers, who also inherited all his clothes and his best bed, thereby ensuring that his former lover was provided for, even after his demise.[15]

The wills leave us with an impression of incompleteness. The legacies to the churches, to pay for the funeral and the anniversaries, have been recorded in great detail, while the modalities of the funeral were usually left to the discretion of the executors. The remainder is rather vague. The amounts and pos-

[14] DE KEYSER, *Het Sint-Donaaskapittel*, p. 711.

[15] Bruges, Episcopal Archives, D. 41, nr. 47. Part of the will of Guillelmus Vernachten was published in: DEROLEZ, *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, 1, pp. 76-77.

sessions enumerated in the wills are relatively small and certainly do not represent the legator's entire wealth. Indeed, immovable goods are hardly ever mentioned, and movable possessions only when these were set aside for a particular person.[16] Only the part of the legacy which did not go to the lawful heirs is found in the will: the part that was destined for liturgical and charitable purposes. The will of these fifteenth-century clerics is mainly an ecclesiastical document, used to record the posthumous relations between the cleric and his colleagues.

Through his will, the canon arranges the various aspects of his transition to the next life, and he only discusses what is crucial for this transition. As a result, the will does not offer an inventory of past events, but rather a projection of the future. Naturally, it does contain elements of the past, but they are distorted to fit the perspective of eternity. These documents tell us not how the canon has lived, but rather how he intends to end his life – which possessions he would like to give a final and permanent destination, which values he takes with him to appear before God, which gaps he fills in order to redress the egocentricity of his existence in a grand gesture of restitution – so that he may be deemed worthy of eternal bliss.

The value of wills for the study of memorial practices among clerics is rather limited, especially since they offer us no information regarding their actual execution. That execution was usually entrusted to persons – typically numbering between two and five – who were named in the document itself, and the fulfilment of their task in its turn caused other documents to be created. Their first duty, for instance, was to take a full inventory of the movables left behind. Once this was done, the delicate task would begin of distributing these possessions – or their countervalue in money – according to the wishes of the deceased. Accounts concerning the execution of wills show us in great detail how dutifully the executors acquitted themselves of this task. All revenues and expenses were carefully recorded. These accounts, few of which have been

[16] In this regard, the case of canon Jacobus Maes (†1465) is particularly interesting, since the numerous donations in his will can be compared with the accounts of the ducal administrator who administered his possessions as a result of a dispute between the Duke and the chapter of St. Donatian: H. CALLEWIER, "Priestermoord in Brugge tijdens de late middeleeuwen: De zaak van Jacobus Maes, kanunnik van het Sint-Donaaskapittel († 1465)", *Biekorf* 108 (2008), pp. 265-271; ID., *De papen van Brugge*, pp. 659-662; M. PRIETZLE, "Jacques Maes († 1465): Lebensführung und Wirkungskreis eines flämischen Kanonikers", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 23 (1996), pp. 325-353.

preserved, offer an excellent insight into the environment in which these clerics lived.[17]

## *Choir Confraternities: Memorial Lists*

Another aspect of the memorial practices of the Bruges clerics which should be mentioned is the importance of the choir confraternities. These confraternities were almost exclusively focused on the clerics of one specific church and were intended, among other things, to strengthen the sense of community. In the churches of Our Lady and in St. Saviour's, we find such confraternities at quite an early stage.[18] The names of the clerics of the church of St. Donatian who also possessed a benefice there can be found in the preserved memorial lists.[19] Memorial lists can be counted among the 'necrological documents'. However, contrary to, for instance, anniversary books, these lists had no liturgical function at all, nor were they structured according to the calendar. Even so, it goes without saying that the confraternity did not compose these memorial lists without a reason. An important element of the activities of any confraternity consisted in commemorating deceased members by reciting their names.[20] Furthermore, a requiem mass was celebrated for each of the deceased, which all living members had to attend. Moreover, whenever a member died, a cleric had to recite seven psalms and a long litany. The descendants of the deceased had to relinquish the death dues to the confraternity. In the fifteenth century, this amount was usually expressed in kind, usually the "best garment".[21] The memorial lists were composed to commemorate the members who had passed away, and these are now a very important source for the identification of members of the late medieval Bruges clergy.

[17] Some of them have been partially published in DEROLEZ, *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, 1, pp. 82-85.

[18] K. VERSCHELDE, *De kathedrale kerke van Sint-Salvator* (Bruges, 1863), pp. 2005-207; A. DEWITTE, "Muziek in de Brugse Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, 1291-1583", *Sacris Erudiri* 37 (1977), pp. 421-448.

[19] Bruges, State Archives, *Découvertes*, nr. 80; Bruges, Provincial Library.

[20] P. TRIO, *Volksreligie als spiegel van een stedelijke samenleving: De broederschappen te Gent tijdens de late middeleeuwen* (Louvain, 1993: *Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum et Philosophiae Lovaniensis, Series B* 1).

[21] R. PARMENTIER, "Het koorgild van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwenkerk te Brugge", *Biekorf* 32 (1926), pp. 104-106.

## *Pious Foundations:* anniversaria *or Anniversary Books*

Many clerics complemented the memorial services held in the confraternities of which they were members with individual foundations. Such foundations could take very diverse forms, depending on the founder's financial means and wishes. The most expensive foundations were usually the chantries and the prebends. Even though the phenomenon of the chantry foundation was already past its peak in the fifteenth century, the canons of St. Donatian still founded seven new chantries.[22] Substantially cheaper than chantries were anniversaries. The anniversaries of the Bruges canons can be found in the published *anniversarium*, or 'anniversary book', of the church of St. Donatian.[23] We use the word *anniversarium* here intentionally. It is a 'necrological document' which in some aspects strongly resembles *necrologia*, *obituaria* or memorial lists. These terms are sometimes still used indiscriminately, even though the Leuven professor and Benedictine Nicolas Huyghebaert has clearly distinguished the different types of necrological documents in the series *Typologie des Sources*.[24] *Necrologia*, *obituaria* and *anniversaria* are all lists of dead persons, structured according to the calendar and used for communal remembrance (in a chapter, a monastery, a confraternity or a parish) on the anniversary of their death. A distinction can be made between purely liturgical books, for use during divine service (the *necrologia*), and registers destined for the preparation of divine service or the remuneration of the officiating priests and / or the people present (*obituaria*, *anniversaria*). Essential for such documents is the fact that they are structured according to the calendar.

The oldest version of the *anniversarium* of the church of St. Donatian that has been preserved, the so-called *liber antiquus* or 'old book', was written at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Both at the beginning of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, a *liber novus* or 'new book' was composed.[25] It is striking how many names of canons have been recorded in the *anniversarium* of the church of St. Donatian. Without exaggeration it may be said that every cleric who died in Bruges, as well as those who had been attached to the church for a while at one time or another, strove to establish one

[22] H. CALLEWIER, *De papen van Brugge*, pp. 448-449.

[23] L. GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, "L'obituaire de Saint-Donatien de Bruges", *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire* 16 (1889), pp. 283-371.

[24] N.-N. HUYGHEBAERT, *Les documents nécrologiques* (Turnhout 1972, *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental*, 4).

[25] Bruges, Episcopal Archives, A. 10.

or more anniversaries in that church. For a majority of the canons, the anniversary was celebrated on the date of their death. Most of the others had theirs on the anniversary of their funeral or requiem service. Anniversaries were usually founded at the end of one's life and recorded in one's will. The executors were responsible for the actual realisation of the anniversary foundation. Because of this, it sometimes took several years before the anniversary was celebrated. The canons could finance their anniversary with the revenues of the so-called "*annus post mortem*", the revenues from their canonical prebend obtained during the first year after death. The administrator of the goods of the deceased was allowed to draw on these to settle debts and pay for the funeral, but especially to found an anniversary. The financing of the anniversary took the form of a donation of an annual rent. It was meticulously recorded how this amount was to be spent.[26]

## *Conclusion*

In conclusion, we might say that the canons of St. Donatian were acutely aware of the frailty of life and the inevitability of death, as indeed were most of their contemporaries. They were, however, in a privileged position to take their leave from life. Their financial possibilities after a successful ecclesiastical career allowed them to establish foundations others simply could not afford. The musical accompaniment at their funeral was in accordance with their status. Moreover, the community of clerics was favoured by the canons in various ways. The steps taken to be remembered not only testify to an obsession with the unknown fate awaiting them after death, but also to a desire to maintain a certain status, even after their earthly life. The memorial practices of the Bruges canons, which are extremely well documented thanks to the elaborate source material which has been preserved, consequently should not only be seen as a sign of piety; a sense of community and a certain degree of vanity also helped to shape this phenomenon.[27]

[26] DE KEYSER, *Het Sint-Donaaskapittel*, pp. 729-739.

[27] W. DE CLERCQ, J. DUMOLYN, and J. HAEMERS, "'*Vivre noblement*': Material culture and elite identity in late medieval Flanders", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28 (2007), pp. 1-31; J. DYMOLYN and K. MOERMANS, "Distinctie en memorie: Symbolische investeringen in de eeuwigheid door de laatmiddeleeuwse hoge ambtenaren in het graafschap Vlaanderen", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 116 (2003), pp. 332-349. See also the case of canon Joris van der Paele: R. DE KEYSER, "De kanunnik Van der Paelen", *Spieghel Historiael* 6 (1971), pp. 336-343.

With regard to increasing literacy within the city, it is clear that these memorial cults in late medieval Bruges generated an extensive amount of written records, from wills to various kinds of necrological documents, already from quite early on. As a centre of literacy, with its writing offices, notaries and clerks, the church of St. Donatian played an exceptionally large role in this evolution.

# The Nuremberg *Familienbücher*: Archives of Family Identity*

KARIN CZAJA

Urban literacy includes a wide range of documents we associate with the private rather than the public sphere. Among these documents are the so-called *Familienbücher*, known from several late medieval German towns, which will be analysed here based on some examples from Nuremberg.[1] The term *Familienbücher* is difficult to translate, not least because the genre is quite elusive.[2] They can be, and have often been, compared to the famous Italian *ricordanze* or *libri di famiglia*.[3] Like the slightly earlier *ricordanze*, the German *Familienbücher* have traditionally been studied in the context of the

* This article is based on my PhD research at the University of Konstanz.

[1] Other cities that should be mentioned include Augsburg, Frankfurt, Cologne, and Berne.

[2] The term itself is fairly recent; see U.M. ZAHND, "Einige Bemerkungen zu spätmittelalterlichen Familienbüchern aus Nürnberg und Bern", in: *Nürnberg und Bern: Zwei Reichsstädte und ihr Landgebiet*, ed. R. ENDRES (Erlangen 1990: *Erlanger Forschungen* A 46), pp. 7-37 and *Haus- und Familienbücher in der städtischen Gesellschaft des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. B. STUDT (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2007: *Städteforschung* A 69).

[3] Literature on the *ricordanze*, as well as on the *libri di famiglia*, is abundant; I will limit myself to mention a catalogue of known documents: *I libri di famiglia in Italia*, 2, *Geografia e storia*, ed. R. MORDENTI (Rome, 2002: *La memoria familiare* 4).

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history of autobiography.[4] Local historians and antiquarians have studied the rich genealogical material found in the books; in this context, the books are often referred to as *Geschlechterbücher*, a term reflecting the late medieval and early modern self-designation of the urban elites as *Geschlechter*. In recent decades, these documents have once again become a subject for study, but under a new light. Recent studies do not see the *Familienbücher* as the first attempts to articulate modern individuality, but as the product of distinctive social processes; and rather than concentrating on their content only, the actual production of the documents has also attracted the attention of recent scholarship.[5]

What kinds of books are *Familienbücher*? The term, as it will be used here, refers to a set of very different documents which are jointly transmitted and all relate to family matters in the sense that they record the birth, baptism, marriage, and death of family members. They include the records of the author himself, which explains why these records are largely interpreted as autobiographical. This interpretation is challenged, however, by at least two features of the sources: first, there is often more than one 'author', and secondly, the content is hardly limited to biographical elements. The *Familienbücher* also very commonly contain documents concerning the transfer of property and endowments, and sometimes even record political events.

In principle, the mixed nature of the content was always acknowledged, but this played little, if any, role in their interpretation. This is partly due to the fact that research on *Familienbücher* has been dominated by the study of a small number of early modern examples, which are indeed closer to family chronicles in the sense that they are clearly narrative sources. Both their content and their lavish illuminations make clear that these books were representative ob-

[4] G. MISCH, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, 4.2, *Von der Renaissance bis zu den autobiographischen Hauptwerken des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a. M., 1969), pp. 582-596; U.M. ZAHND, *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen Ludwig von Diesbachs: Studien zur spätmittelalterlichen Selbstdarstellung im oberdeutschen und schweizerischen Raum* (Bern, 1986: *Schriften der Berner Burgerbibliothek* 17), H. HALLER VON HALLERSTEIN, "Nürnberger Geschlechterbücher", *Mitteilungen des Vereins zur Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 65 (1978), pp. 212-235.

[5] See the contributions in *Haus- und Familienbücher*, especially the introduction by B. STUDT, "Einführung", pp. XI-XX; P. MONNET, *Les Rohrbach de Francfort: Pouvoirs, affaires et parenté à l'aube de la Renaissance allemande* (Geneva, 1997: *Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance* 317); G. ROHMANN, *"Eines Erbaren Raths gehorsamer amptman": Clemens Jäger und die Geschichtsschreibung des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Augsburg, 2001: *Schwäbische Forschungsgemeinschaft* 28).

jects. This is particularly true for Nuremberg.[6] However, as I shall argue, earlier collections of documents, containing fewer narrative elements and illuminations, can be equally valuable sources and should also be considered *Familienbücher*. The key aspect is not the presence or absence of a narrative that is easily accessible to the modern reader, but the production of the books and their function. Studying a selection of Nuremberg *Familienbücher* from the fifteenth century, I shall demonstrate how 'bookkeeping' was carried out, and that the resulting documents could best be described as 'archives' of the respective families. Nuremberg has been chosen as an example because of its rich tradition concerning this genre of books, making it possible not only to consider different documents, but also to generate an idea of their interdependences. Indeed, more *Familienbücher* are known from Nuremberg than from any other German city, and this most likely stems from the unusual continuity of Nuremberg's political history. The aldermen in the all-important Inner Council came from almost the same families from late medieval times to the late eighteenth century.[7] The families who issued, kept, and transmitted the books used for this study all belong to the group of about forty families represented in the Inner Council. As will become clear, the *Familienbücher* had an important role to play in defining 'the family' – and thus also in regulating access to the elite group around the Inner Council.

## *Books as Archives*

Like archives, the Nuremberg *Familienbücher* served to record and to transmit information, knowledge that was constitutive for their respective families. Whether or not this makes these books 'archives' themselves depends on the definition of the term. In the German-speaking world, with its long history of academically trained archivists, an influential concept of a proper archive is

[6] For an example, see G. ROHMANN, *Das Ehrenbuch der Fugger*, 1, *Darstellung, Transkription und Kommentar*, and 2, *Die Babenhausener Handschrift* (Augsburg, 2004). The most striking Nuremberg example of this genre is represented by the so called *Tucherbuch*, published in a digital format as *Das große Tucherbuch: eine Handschrift zum Blättern: Stadtarchiv Nürnberg E 29/III Nr. 258*, ed. M. DIEFENBACHER (Augsburg and Nuremberg, 2004: *Handschriften aus bayerischen Bibliotheken und Archiven auf CD-Rom* 5).

[7] See P. FLEISCHMANN, *Rat und Patriziat in Nürnberg: Die Herrschaft der Ratsgeschlechter vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Neustadt a. d. Aisch, 2008: *Nürnberger Forschungen* 31.1-2), 1, *Der Kleinere Rat*, pp. 14-61. C. MEYER, *Die Stadt als Thema: Nürnbergs Entdeckung in Texten um 1500* (Ostfildern, 2009: *Mittelalter Forschungen* 26).

that the respective documents are not only preserved together, but also that they emerged from the same course of business and were transmitted jointly. Frequently, this is described as a natural process – as 'natural growth'. This principle is known as the *Provenienzprinzip* ('principle of provenance'), a concept sharply different from the French idea of an archive.[8] Until very recently it dominated the research of medieval archives in the German-speaking world. There are two main problems to address in regard to this principle. First, the definition focuses very much on administrative sources. Probably due to the interaction between academic medievalists and professional archivists since the nineteenth century, medieval archives have mainly been studied in the context of the emergence of the modern state. Secondly, the idea of 'natural growth' has led scholars to ignore how much the transmission and non-transmission of their material was the result of a historical process involving human agency.[9]

A prime example of the 'book as archive' is the cartulary. Medieval cartularies are known to have been kept in different contexts – by monasteries, urban administrations, and also within families.[10] Cartularies of family property

[8] A classical German definition of 'archive' is provided by the archivist Johannes Papritz: "*Ein 'Archiv' ist die Gesamtheit oder eine eigenständige Abteilung der Dokumentation einer juristischen oder physischen Person beziehungsweise Personengruppe, die im Geschäftsgang oder Privatverkehr organisch erwachsen und zur dauerhaften Aufbewahrung bestimmt ist*" (J. PAPRITZ, *Archivwissenschaft*, 1.1, *Einführung, Grundbegriffe, Terminologie* (Marburg, 1976), p. 90. B. UHL, "Die Bedeutung des Provinienzprinzips für Archivwissenschaft und Geschichtsforschung", *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 61 (1998), pp. 97-121. Concerning the differences between German and French archival concepts, see M. MIDDELL, "Kulturtransfer und Archiv", in: *Archiv und Gedächtnis: Studien zur interkulturellen Überlieferung*, ed. M. ESPAGNE, K. MIDDELL, and M. MIDDELL (Leipzig, 2000: *Deutsch-Französische Kulturbibliothek* 13), pp. 7-35, in particular pp. 20-27.

[9] See, e.g., P. RÜCK, "Die Ordnung der herzoglich savoyischen Archive unter Amadeus VIII. ( 1398-1451)", *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 67 (1971), pp. 11-101; TH. FRENZ, "Kanzlei, Registratur und Archiv des Hochstifts Würzburg im 15. Jahrhundert", in: *Landesherrliche Kanzleien im Spätmittelalter*, 2 vols. (Munich 1984: *Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung* 35), 1, pp. 139-146; Th. HILDBRAND, *Herrschaft, Schrift und Gedächtnis: Das Kloster Allerheiligen und sein Umgang mit Wissen in Wirtschaft, Recht und Archiv (11. bis 16. Jahrhundert*) (Zurich, 1996). More recently A. HORSTMANN and V. KOPP, "Einleitung: Archiv – Macht – Wissen", in: *Archiv – Macht – Wissen: Organisation und Konstruktion von Wissen und Wirklichkeiten in Archiven*, ed. A. HORSTMANN and V. KOPP (Frankfurt a.M. and New York, 2010), pp. 9-22. For different approaches see also *Archivprozesse: Die Kommunikation der Aufbewahrung*, ed. H. POMPE and L. SCHULZ (Cologne, 2002: *Mediologie* 5).

[10] G. DECLERCQ, "Originals and cartularies: The organization of archival memory (ninth-eleventh century)", in: *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. K. HEIDECKER (Turnhout, 2000: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 5), pp. 147-170; *Les cartulaires: Actes de la table ronde organisée par L'École Nationale de Chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du*

kept by the families themselves should be counted as *Familienbücher* for two reasons: first, the very same books often contain both copies of deeds and narrative passages on the history of the respective families. Secondly, even if there are no such elements, cartularies can have a certain narrative, as the content is a result of careful selection by which one or more persons deliberately chose what was to be remembered – and what was not. Selecting memories is a creative process; like remembrance, forgetting is part of the making of kinship. Most documents concern the transfer of property, but this does not reduce their relevance for the family, as no one would doubt that the medieval family was centred on property.

One example of a cartulary-as-*Familienbuch* is the massive volume of about 400 folios started by Peter Rieter (1401-1462) in the 1440s and continued by other family members until the 1510s.[11] The Rieter family was one of the ruling families represented in the Inner Council. In the mid-fifteenth century, this family was still climbing the social ladder, as Peter was the first of his family to become an alderman.[12] His book opens with the drawing of four coats of arms, those of Peter Rieter and his second wife, Barbara (†1476), and those of his son, Sebald (1426-1471), and his first wife, Margreth (†1468), followed by an index. The actual cartulary is not in chronological order; the charters were arranged rather according to subject matter. The first section contained marriage settlements, testaments, and charters of property division – i.e. documents concerning the property transfer at marriage and between generations. The next section is comprised of documents concerning real estate. In copying, Peter Rieter arranged the documents according to the houses

*C.N.R.S. (Paris 5-7 déc. 1991*), ed. O. GUYOTJEANNIN (Paris 1993: *Mémoires et documents* 39); P.J. GEARY, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Milennium* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 81-114. Including urban cartularies: *Les cartulaires méridionaux: Actes du colloque organisé à Béziers les 20 et 21 septembre 2002 par le Centre Historique de Recherches et d'études Médiévales sur la Méditerranée Occidentale*, ed. D. BLÉVEC (Paris, 2006: *Études et rencontres de l'École de Chartes* 19). An example of a cartulary as *Familienbuch* is described by M. VON DER HÖH, "Zwischen religiöser Memoria und Familiengeschichte: Das Familienbuch des Werner Overstolz", in: *Haus- und Familienbücher*, pp. 33-60, and ID., "Historiografie zwischen Privatheit und Geheimnis – das Familienbuch des Werner Overstolz", in: *Geschichte schreiben: Ein Quellen- und Studienbuch zur Historiografie (ca. 1350-1700*), ed. S. RAU and B. STUDT (Berlin, 2010), pp. 115-126.

[11] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, D14, No. B5. Peter Rieter, his son Sebald, and Sebald's descendants worked with the codex. For the mentioned family members see appendix 1 of this article.

[12] See P. FLEISCHMANN, *Rat und Patriziat in Nürnberg*, 2, *Ratsherren und Ratsgeschlechter*, pp. 855-878.

in question. He largely restricted himself to charters issued to his family, although he included also some documents issued to former tenants which were presumably handed over with the property. This led to an arrangement that resembles a register of real estate. In one case, the entries for one single house cover nearly ten folios with documents issued over a period of one and a half centuries. The history of the house called Haus am Markt is told from the moment a certain Herman Eysvogel sold half of it in 1331; the latest document concerning the building that was added to the cartulary dates from 1477. It seems as if there had been an attempt to put the dossier concerning this house in chronological order, but when the contract of 1477 required a subsequent entry, it was placed between charters issued in the 1390s in order to maintain the unity of the subject.[13] Most entries are deeds, but there are also perpetuity charters and other documents related to real estate. The third section of the cartulary contains rent documents and the description of fiefs acquired by the Rieter family. Finally, after some addenda, there are later entries, presumably made by Peter's son Sebald Rieter, containing notes on the family's history. Many entries concern the births, marriages, and deaths of family members, but there are also accounts of the various pilgrimages of some of them.[14]

Peter Rieter, as he explains in the index heading, claimed to present all his charters in this book.[15] His assertion is difficult to test, but there is some evidence indicating that he was making choices: neither a testament of him nor of his first wife Clara Grundherr (who had died in 1420 just two years after their marriage) appears, and it is quite improbable that neither of them had drawn up such a document. At the same time, he decided to include the testaments of his father and two of his brothers and, strikingly, also that of Herdegen Behaim, drawn up in 1379. The latter, although no relative, was apparently included because his heirs sold the Haus am Markt mentioned above to the Rieter family in 1390.[16] Peter Rieter therefore most likely did not present all of the docu-

[13] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, D14, No. B5, ff. 44v-52v, 55r.

[14] A later copy of these accounts has been published: *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter*, ed. R. RÖHRICHT and H. MEISNER (Tübingen, 1884: *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* 168).

[15] "*Das register ist uber alle mein briff und alle erbe zins dy ich hab in der statt und in welicher pfar si ligen*" (Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, D14, No. B5, f. 8r).

[16] The copied testaments are: Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, D14, No. B5, f. 33 r-v (Herdegen Behaim), ff. 33v-34r. (his brother Hans the Younger), f. 35r (his brother Franz), ff. 35v-36v (his father Hans the Elder). Further down in the book, copies of the last wills of the following people can be found: Hans's son Sebald, Sebald's sons Sebald and Peter, as well as testaments of collateral relatives. See Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, D14, No. B5, ff. 162v-164v, 168v-171v, 174r-

ments accessible to him, but only those relevant for the family's property development.[17]

Where did the compilers of such books find their material? The Rieter book contains no direct indications, though references, such as "my charters", strongly suggest that the original documents were in the possession of the compiler. There are also blank pages which only contain a heading but no entries; at this point, one can only speculate whether the absences are due to missing documents in his own stock of diplomas or to the fact that other collections were unattainable. Nevertheless, it is known from other examples, such as the *Salbuch* of Hans Tetzel (1425-1480), that the author used his own diplomas as the basis of his compilation.[18] Based on other *Familienbücher* it is clear that the compilers did not restrict themselves to material in the possession of their own families. Hans Stromer (1467-1526), e.g., started a cartulary in three parts. The second one, which is devoted to family endowments, he introduces as follows:

> In the year 1514 of our Lord, I, Hans Stromair, former mayor and alderman of Nuremberg, had this abridgement made of all Stromair endowments, drawn from old and new endowment registers of the council by the town clerk Johannes Birger, who is at present in charge of the council's endowment registers together with the three of us, Hans Stromair, Lazarus Holzschuher and Jeronimus Tetzel, who are in charge of supervising these books. On 6 September of the aforementioned year, we had largely finished these books with the help of almighty God, Mary Queen of Heaven and all saints, Amen.[19]

176r, 326r-329r, 352r-v.

[17] When Peter Rieter entered the Franciscan monastery in Nuremberg in 1452, he transferred all his property to his son Sebald. This must be the reason why there is no testament of him among the later entries, but only a document confirming the property transfer.

[18] Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Rep. 52A, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Handschriften, No. 305.

[19] Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Rep. D 14 Stromer-Archiv Burg Grünsberg, No. B19, f. 35r: "*Nach Cristi unsers lieben herren geburt in dem funffzehenhundert und vierzehendem iare hab ich Hanns Stromair der zeit alter burgermaister und des kleinern raths zu Nurmberg diesen auszug aller alten Stromair stifftung aus eines erbarn rats alten, auch der neuen seelbuchern ausziehen und schreiben lassenn durch Iohannem Birger, die zeit unnser seelbuchschreiber so durch einen erbarn raht die czu schreiben verordnet unnd wir Hanns Stromiar, Lazarus Holczschuher und Jeronimus Tetzel alle drey darczu gegeben sind gedachte bucher auszurichten, die wir auff ad sechsten septembris in ongedachtem iar den maisten tail auffgericht mit hilff des almechtigen gots unnd marie der himelkunigen und aller heilligen amen*".

In the course of his book, the compiler notes for every single entry from which of the endowment registers it was copied, and also shows where the corresponding record in the ecclesiastic archives was to be found. The authors of the cartularies had the choice not only between different diplomas but also between different stocks of documents they could refer to and authorise their works with.

## *Bookkeeping*

As far as *Familienbücher* were cartularies, they evidently were media of memory. Yet it is often overlooked that they also served to process information very much like business accounts in a commercial context.[20] To illustrate this aspect, I will look in greater detail at the surviving *Familienbücher* of the Behaim family. They are among the families that in the first half of the fourteenth century were already represented in the city council.[21] The books under discussion were compiled by Michel Behaim (1373-1446) and his great-grandson of the same name. Both were aldermen for many years, and both wrote notes pertaining to the history of their family in various books. The older Michel Behaim originally began the book in 1434 as a *Salbuch*, that is, a register of property similar to a cartulary, but not containing copies of charters, but rather a list of property and the income generated from it.[22] In addition to this, the book also lists family endowments in some detail. A third section of the book is introduced as follows:

> I, Michel Behaim the old, living next to the wine market, have taken the book of my father of blessed memory, Michel Behaim the elder, who lived in the house of

[20] Concerning business accounts, see F.J. ARLINGHAUS, "Account books", in: *Transforming the Medieval World: Uses of Pragmatic Literacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. F.J. ARLINGHAUS *et al.* (Turnhout, 2006: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 6b), pp. 43-69.

[21] P. FLEISCHMANN, *Rat und Patriziat*, 2, pp. 317-40. For the mentioned members of the family, see Appendix 2.

[22] *Salbücher* are closely related to other books of economic record keeping such as *Urbare* or interest registers, known from the rural manorial system. For economic record keeping in general, see: E. BÜNZ, "Urbare und verwandte Quellen zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte", in: *Aufriß der historischen Wissenschaften*, 4, *Quellen*, ed. M. MAURER (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 168-189. With special reference to *Salbücher*: *Oldenburger Salbuch: Register des Drosten Jakob von Specken über Grundbesitz und Einkünfte des Grafen von Oldenburg 1428-1450*, ed. H. LÜBBING (Oldenburg, 1965), pp. 21-22.

> Hans Rieter at the market and who has written by his own hand all of the following into his debt register.[23]

Having specified his father's book as his source, Michel Behaim documents the consecutive marriages and children of his father, and continues by listing his own offspring. The *mise en page* is very much that of an account book, including the crossing out of a number of entries. It is difficult to conclude exactly when entries were crossed out; the idea suggests itself that this was done to record the death of the respective person. However, some of these persons supposedly marked as dead actually outlived the compiler. Perhaps the records were updated by later generations. In any case, the analogy to bookkeeping (in the sense of keeping business records) is apparent.

The entries that followed were made by Michel Behaim's grandson, Mertein (1437-1474). However, they were certainly not autograph, as there is no change of hand in the accounts before and after Mertein Behaim's death.[24] Finally, the tradition was continued by the great-grandson of the first compiler, Michel Behaim (1459-1511), who gathered notes on the family history in several books. In 1480, at the age of 21, he compiled his first book, listing family endowments. As he explains, he was using and updating his great-grandfather's *Salbuch* – in all likelihood the same book already mentioned.[25] Contrary to what he states in the introduction, he must have used other sources as well, as is evident from a later reference to the council's endowment register.[26] Evidently not only the professional scribes, but also aldermen and their sons had access to these books. A comparison of the two Behaim books drawing on this source shows how differently the two compilers organised their material. Unlike his great-grandfather, the younger Michel Behaim arranged the entries by benefactors rather than by endowments, and the focus is more on the liturgical

[23] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 11/II, No. 1318, f. 83r: "*Ich Michel Behaim der alt gesessen an dem Weinmarkt nam die schrift aus meins fater seligen buche Michel Behaims dez eltern gesessen an dem markt in dez Hanssen Rieters hawss und der het ditz also geschriben mit seiner hant in sein schuld buche als her nach geschriben stet*".

[24] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 11/II, No. 1318, f. 93v: "*Item Mertein ist geporn am suntag an Sand Merteins abent zu vier oren in die nacht anno M IIII^c und im XXXVII iar. Sein dot der Anthon Talner, kursner und losunger. Er starb am sampstag vor Laurenty im LXXIIII iar. Dem got genad*".

[25] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 11/II, No. 2861, f. 1r: "*... nam die geschrift ausz meins uranhern Michel Beheims des eltern gesessen am weinmarckt salpuchlein*".

[26] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 11/II, No. 2861, f. 2r.

details than on the value of the benefices. All in all, the younger Behaim was more concerned with the memory of the dead than his namesake was.

The younger Michel Behaim compiled two more books, which are commonly referred to as family chronicles (*Geschlechtbücher*). The first was begun in 1486 and is passed on in a later copy.[27] The second was only kept between 1488 and 1493, although Michel Behaim's son Friedrich and other family members, among them probably Friedrich Behaim's son Paulus, later continued it.[28] It seems as though Michel Behaim was using both books concurrently for five years. However, his position changed notably between 1486 and 1488, as is already evident from the introduction to both books. In the first book, he refers to himself as "Michel Behaim, son of Linhard Behaim"; two years later, he introduces himself simply as "Michel Behaim the elder".[29] The most important change was the death of his father in 1486, which had made Michel the head of his family. At first glance, both books are very similar, but on closer inspection important modifications are revealed. While the personages are the same, some people are presented differently. For example, both books mention a certain Albrecht Behaim, born in 1250, among the ancestors of the family. In the first book, he is presented as "Albrecht, the son of Friedrich".[30] In 1488, however, there is a detailed passage about him, which begins in the following manner:

> First of all, concerning Albrecht Behaim the Elder, the ancestor of my ancestor Michel Beheim, I have recorded when he was born, when he married whom, how many children he had, who their godparents were, and when he and his wife died. Further, I have recorded who the parents and grandparents of Albrecht Behaim were, and also the names of their ancestors, although I was not able to find out much about them.[31]

[27] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 17/I, No. 848.

[28] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 11/II, No. 507.

[29] 1486: Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 17/I, No. 848, f. 8r: "*Michel Peheim, Linhart Peheims sun*". 1488: Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 11/II 507, f. Ir: "*Michel Beheim der alter*".

[30] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 17/I, No. 848, f. 9r.

[31] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 11/II, No. 507, f. IV: "*Czu dem ersten hebt sich an von Albrecht Beheim dem alten der ist geweist meins uranheren Michel Beheims am Weinmarck uranherr, wen er geporen sey worden und wen er sich verheyrat hat und zu wem und wie vil er kinder mit seiner hausfrawen gehabt hat und wer ir toten sein gewest und wen er und sein hausfraw sein gestorben. Auch wer des Albrechtz Beheims vater und muter anher und anfraw sein gewessen von den Beheimen seinen eltern und wie die geheissen haben stet als hernach geschribem, aber von den selben seinen hab ich nit vill kunen erfaren*".

While in the first book Albrecht Behaim was one of Michel Behaim's ancestors, in the second book he becomes the leading figure in the family's ancestry. In seven separate chapters Michel carefully describes how he descended from this ancestor over seven generations. This genealogy is strictly patrilineal. At the same time, there is a marked stress on liturgical *memoria*.

Apart from the reference to his great-grandfather's *Salbuch*, the 1488 book contains further hints as to which sources Michel was using. They are referred to in a summary as "various old books and charters and writings both by my dear relatives and by non-relatives".[32] These documents are quoted verbatim, so that perspectives change within the book – a fact that seemingly did not cause any disturbance to the compiler. Moreover, every time Michel Behaim adopts the point of view of one of his ancestors, he gives us a hint that this person also kept records.

In addition to documents circulating within the family, it is also noticeable from these sources that different families exchanged information. The 1486 book, for example, is bound together with a copy of the late fourteenth-century *Püchlein* of Ulman Stromer, the most famous writer of the late medieval Nuremberg patriciate.[33] Again, the short prefatory note is very revealing: "In the year 1490, I, Michel Behaim, have copied this book from the copy of Ulman Stromair of blessed memory, which Hans Haller lent to me".[34] Stromer's well-known book must have circulated in several copies, and apparently several families valued it for the rich genealogical information it contained. Michel Behaim, in his copy, carefully underlined all the members of his family which Stromer had mentioned.

[32] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 11/II, No. 507, f. Ir: "*in etlichen alten puchen und prieffen und geschriften von meinen guten freunden und fremden personen*".

[33] *Ulman Stromers 'Püchel von meim geslechet und von abentewr*, ed. K. HEGEL, in: *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, 1, *Nürnberg* (Leipzig, 1862; reprint Göttingen, 1961), pp. 1-223. See, most recently, C. MEYER, *Die Stadt als Thema*, pp. 115-124; M. KIRCHHOFF, *Gedächtnis in Nürnberger Texten des 15. Jahrhunderts. Gedenkbücher, Brüderbücher, Städtelob, Chroniken* (Nuremberg, 2009: *Nürnberger Werkstücke* 68), pp. 23-54.

[34] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 17/I, No. 848/II, f. 1r: "*Anno 1490 iar do schrib ich Michel Beheim diesz puchlein ab von des alten Ulman Stromairsz seligen puchlein, das leh mir Hans Haller am kirchoff Sebaldi*".

## *Agnatic and Cognatic Narratives*

In the case of the younger Michel Behaim there is a clear effort to manipulate family history in order to emphasise patrilineal descent. This was partly achieved by adding new information, but mainly by omitting references to the wives and the married daughters of the family. Such an agnatic refashioning of one's family history was perhaps in tune with other developments around 1500, but it was certainly not the only possibility. The above-mentioned Hans Haller (1443-1493), while partly working with the same material as Michel Behaim, made a completely different choice; rather than simply copying Stromer's *Püchlein*, he instead supplemented it according to principles that he outlined as follows:

> I, Hans Haller, have drawn on Ulman Stromair's book, which mentions his and his children's blood relatives into the fourth degree of kinship; in addition to that, I have noted who was married and to whom, as the wives were lacking in the above-mentioned book of Ulman Stromair, as far as I was able to gather information on them. And all additions I have made to this book I have marked with red lines. However, I was not able to find out for all men mentioned by Ulman Stromair who had married and whom.[35]

This reworking is revealing in several aspects. On the one hand it shows how much it was a matter of choice which persons were actually counted as family and hence were remembered as family members. Far from growing naturally out of the pragmatic context, the *Familienbücher* are the product of very active compilers who were well aware of the choices they made. On the other hand, the difficulties Hans Haller faced in undoing what his predecessors had done, strongly emphasises that the selectivity of memory is not only an important way to tell stories, but can also be described as having a serious impact in the

[35] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 17/I, No. 848/II, f. 39r: "*Ich Hansz Haller hab hernach ausz des alten Ulman Stromairs puchlein geschriben, do unter andrem inne stet wer im und sein kinden in die vierd sippt mit geporner freuntschaft verwant ist gewest und ich hab darzu geschriben, das do selbst in des genanten Ulman Stromairs puchlein nit stet, etlich die verhe rat sindt gewest und wen sie gehabt, als vil ich durch macherlay erfarung zu wegen hab mugen pringen und was ich in disz hernach mer geschriben und darzu gesetzt hab dan in dem selben puchlein stet, hab ich die selben schrift mit einem rotten strich bezaichent. Ich kan aber der selben hernach geschriben, die der obgenant Ulman Stromair melt, nit aller erfaren, die verheyrat sindt gewest und wen sie gehabt haben*".

long term: in the course of time it would become more difficult to put back into the story what one compiler had chosen to ignore.

## *Conclusion*

This article has focused on the compilation of the Nuremberg *Familienbücher*, with a special view to the sources used and the way they were conceived. Omitting certain material was as important as including other material, and the results could lead to very different narratives, as became particularly clear with the cartularies as *Familienbücher*. All of these books are about families, and it is the interplay between the narrative elements and the documents that in the end produced a narrative about each respective family. The *Familienbücher* were indeed archives, not because they grew 'naturally', but rather because their compilation involved deliberate choices about how to handle the past. Kinship was shaped not only by remembering, but also by techniques of 'forgetting', separating different 'branches' or, as in the case of the Behaim family, creating an agnatic family history reaching back seven generations. A comparison of different *Familienbücher* has demonstrated that there were very different ways of telling the story of one's own family. Hans Haller, who was in contact with Michel Behaim and used the same sources, chose a different approach, which explicitly included the cognates.

## *Appendix 1: The Rieter Family*

```
Hans Rieter the Elder
(died in 1414)
    |                        |                        |
Peter Rieter          Hans Rieter the Younger   Franz Rieter
(1401-1462)           (died in 1401)            (died in 1412)
    |
Sebald Rieter (1426-1471)
|                      |
Sebald Rieter          Peter Rieter
(died in 1488)         (died in 1502)
```

*Appendix 2: The Behaim Family*

Michel Behaim
(1373-1446)
|
Michel Behaim
(1398-1449)
| |
Linhart Behaim (1433-1486) | Mertein Behaim (1437-1474)
|
Michel Behaim (1459-1511)

*Part IV*

# Reading, Seeing, Hearing: The Place of Writing in the System of Urban Communication

# Communication in a Town: Urban Rituals and Literacy in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary

DUŠAN ZUPKA

*Nam unius lingue uniusque moris*
*regnum inbecille et fragile est.*

(*Libellus Sancti Stephani Regis de Institutione*
*morum ad Emericum ducem*[1])

## *Introduction: Forms of communication in Middle Ages*

When the king of Hungary Coloman I the Learned (1095-1116) was crowned as the king of Dalmatia and Croatia, he undertook a tour around the coastal cities to demonstrate his sovereignty over them

[1] "Because a kingdom of one language and single custom is weak and fragile" (*Libellus de institutione morum*, ed. I. BALOGH, in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum: Tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. E. SZENTPÉTERY, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1937-1938) (henceforth cited as SRH), 2, pp. 611-627, at p. 625.

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 341-373.

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ceremonially. In 1105 in the town of Split (Spalato, Spaletum),[2] the submission ritual was composed of several segments:

> The Spalatines took counsel among themselves and sent archbishop Crescentius to King Coloman, asking the king for peace. The archbishop was graciously received, and King Coloman agreed to all the terms that the Spalatines stipulated in the peace agreement. Then a document was drawn up detailing all that was granted and agreed to between the two sides, and the king together with his nobles swore to uphold all its articles faithfully. The next day the Spalatines swore an oath, first those from the leading families, then those from lesser ones, then all the common people, that they would remain forever subject and loyal to King Coloman and his issue and to the kingdom of Hungary. Then the king entered the city and was received with all honour by the clergy and people.[3]

The ceremonial submission of the city of Split to the Hungarian king Coloman, described by the Split historiographer archdeacon Thomas, is a perfect example of communication between a city and its ruler. In this short account we are able to discern all three major types of communication in Middle Ages: oral, written, and symbolic (expressing itself in various rituals, gestures, and other non-verbal actions).[4] First the citizens sent an envoy to discuss the issue personally in words, then a written document was drawn up, and finally the mutual agreement was sealed through a series of ritualised actions: solemn oaths, the ritual of *deditio* (submission of the city), and the staging of an *adventus regis* for the new ruler. In his relaying of the events, the author has demonstrated all the possible ways that people in the Middle Ages could communicate with their environment.

Another interesting point is to be found in the relationship and mutual influence between ritual and literacy (foremost in the written documents) in medieval society. It has been argued that there were three basic forms of this correlation. The first was the use of written documents in rituals; secondly, there was the caption and interpretation of rituals in written accounts; and

[2] The names of localities are first given in their present form, and then in all commonly used forms in the Middle Ages. Following mentions are given only in present form.

[3] Translated according to *Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum Pontificum – Archdeacon Thomas of Split: History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, ed. and trans. D. KARBIC, M. MATIJEVIC SOKOL, and J.R. SWEENEY (Budapest and New York, 2006: *Central European Medieval Texts* 4) (henceforth cited as *Historia Salonitana*), pp. 96-97.

[4] G. ALTHOFF, *Die Macht der Rituale* (Darmstadt, 2003), p. 19.

thirdly there was the pictorial representation of the rituals and written documents.[5] We have seen in the above-mentioned case of the submission of Split how a written document could be used in the course of a ritual procedure, and how the ritual could be pictured, as in archdeacon Thomas's account. (The third possibility can be traced only in exceptions, as we do not have many depicted manuscripts from medieval Hungary.)

Communication in the Middle Ages, just like today, was an inevitable component of social behaviour, without which society was inconceivable.[6] Forms of communication are closely connected to the use and spread of literacy within a certain society. Alongside traditional (i.e. oral and written) objects of study, increasingly attention is being paid to the study of symbolic, non-verbal communication.[7] In this respect it is necessary to decode the information concealed in gestures, rituals, and ceremonies, as well as the symbolism of colours, clothes, smells, or even flavours. Communication through the senses of vision, touch, and hearing was just as important as written communication.[8] These instruments co-existed alongside the traditionally studied, literate means, and so created a complex of communication in medieval Europe. In following this process we can trace the varieties of literate mentalities in daily life, in legal cases, in administration, and in ceremonial events; pragmatic literacy; the relation between literacy and orality; and that between literacy and ritual communication.

Communication in a medieval city was a rich complex encompassing all forms of human interaction. People used words, signs, letters, and gestures to

[5] Ch.F. WEBER and Ch. DARTMANN, "Rituale und Schriftlichkeit", in: *Spektakel der Macht: Rituale im alten Europa 800-1800*, ed. B. STOLLBERG-RILINGER, G. ALTHOFF, *et al.* (Darmstadt, 2008), pp. 51-55.

[6] M. MOSTERT, "New approaches to medieval communication?", in: *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. M. MOSTERT (Turnhout, 1999: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 1), pp. 15-37, at pp. 18-19.

[7] G. ALTHOFF and L. SIEP, "Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme vom Mittelalter bis zur Französischen Revolution: Der neue Münsterer SFB 496", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 34 (2000), pp. 393-412; *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. J. VAN LEEUWEN (Leuven, 2006); P. ARNADE, *Realms of Ritual. Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca and London, 1996); E. LECUPPRE-DESJARDIN, *La ville des cérémonies: Essai sur la communication politique dans les anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons* (Turnhout, 2004); *Oral History of the Middle Ages: The Spoken Word in Context*, ed. G. JARITZ and M. RICHTER (Krems and Budapest, 2001).

[8] A. ADAMSKA, "The study of medieval literacy: Old sources, new ideas", in: *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, ed. A. ADAMSKA and M. MOSTERT (Turnhout, 2004: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 9), 13-47, at pp. 21-22.

communicate their ideas to other members of society. We will try to focus on the functions and developments of urban literacy and its close relationship with civic rituals as forms of urban communication. This process has been studied mainly in Western European cities, most notably in the Burgundian Low Countries, the northern Italian communes, and England.[9] In recent years various books and articles have covered this interesting and very stimulating relation between the city and its ruler (e.g. the state, the king, or a prince).[10]

If we turn to East Central Europe, and more in particular to the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, where our main focus lies, we find a different situation concerning both the basis of contemporary sources and scholarly research. On the following pages we will try to focus on the information about public symbolic communication of medieval towns, which found its expression in sundry rituals, gestures, and symbols. From the extant urban written sources, preserved narrative accounts, and findings in the secondary literature, we will try to describe the role and function of urban rituals and urban literacy in urban communication as a whole. Due to a lack of previous scholarly research in this area, we will propose a pioneering probe and suggest questions for possible further study, rather than give a synthetic interpretation. Before we begin looking at urban rituals, however, we have to trace the development of urban literacy in Hungary, as well as the unique multilingual character of its population.

## *The Multilingual Character of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*

The medieval Kingdom of Hungary was a multi-ethnic and multilingual state, home to many *nationes*.[11] Besides the constitutive and dominant Hungarians (Magyars), the northern part, the so-called *Hungaria superior*, was inhab-

[9] J. HUIZINGA, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1996); H. PIRENNE, "L'instruction des marchands au moyen-âge", *Annales E.S.C.* 1 (1929), pp. 13-28, Ch. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, "Ceremony and the citizen: The communal year at Coventry, 1450-1550", in: *The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1200-1540*, ed. R. HOLT and G. ROSSER (London and New York, 1990), pp. 238-264; *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*.

[10] A. BROWN and G. SMALL, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries c.1420-1530* (Manchester, 2007); G. KIPLING, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998); P. ARNADE, "City, state, and public ritual in the late-medieval Burgundian Netherlands", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39.2 (1997), pp. 300-318.

[11] See, e.g. P. ENGEL, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526* (London and New York, 2005), especially pp. 113-122, 269-271, 330-332.

ited by Slovaks, Poles, Czechs, Germans, and Ruthenians, while the eastern territory, almost overlapping with Transylvania, included Romanians, Cumans, and more Germans. In addition, there were the southern boundaries, which were populated by Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, and Italians. All these ethnic groups formed a considerable part of the overall population of medieval Hungary.[12] It is important to realise that all these ethnic groups spoke their own language and had their own cultural and sometimes also religious traditions.

A few examples, ranging from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, illustrate the problem of understanding that could be encountered in vernacular communication throughout the medieval period in Hungary. When St. Gerard, bishop of Cenad (Csanád), had a quarrel with Samuel Aba (1041-1044), the usurper of the Hungarian throne a few years after the death of St. Stephen († 1038), their public rupture had to be intermediated by a translator ("*per interpretem*"), because the Italian-born Gerard could not speak Hungarian and King Aba did not understand Latin.[13] A similar case, concerning the dynastic struggle for the Hungarian throne in the second half of the eleventh century, describes how a poor understanding of the common language could also have influenced important ceremonial events. The unsuccessful pretender to the throne, Count Bela, was peacefully attending the Latin coronation ceremony of his nephew Salomon in 1058. Only after his translator ("*per interpretem*") interpreted for him the meaning of the sung words, did he get angry and leave the country.[14]

This type of situation continued for centuries, and the incapability of mutual understanding was also common at the highest levels of society. In 1440 Helene Kottanner (an Austrian-born nanny of the child and future king of Hungary Ladislas Posthumous) and an anonymous Hungarian (Magyar) man were entrusted with the highly delicate and dangerous task of stealing the Holy Crown from its treasury in Visegrád (Vyšehrad). It seems that the fact that they could not understand each other's languages was not a serious handicap for this

[12] For details see G. KRISTÓ, *Nichtungarische Völker im mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Herne, 2008).

[13] *Legenda sancti Gerhardi Episcopi*, c. 5-6, ed. E. MADZSAR, in: SRH 2, pp. 461-506, at pp. 476-477.

[14] "*Cum autem in coronatione Salomonis canerent: 'esto dominus fratrum tuorum', et hoc per interpretem Bele duci innotuisset, quod Salomon infantulus sibi dominus constitueretur, graviter est indignatus*" (*Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV* (henceforth *Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*), c. 91, ed. A. DOMANOVSZKY, in: SRH 1, pp. 217-505, at pp. 352-353).

important mission.[15] Another case comes from the year 1517. When Anna Majthényi, the Magyar wife of a local landlord, wanted to make a confession in the town of Nováky (Nyitranovák), she was refused by the local parish priest because he only spoke Slovak.[16] These few examples only serve to illustrate the linguistic and ethnic diversity of the population of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. On the other hand, there are many examples showing that in most cases the inhabitants had overcome this diversity by learning to communicate in languages other than their own. This was a must for everyday business in towns as in rural communities.[17]

We do not have to emphasise the fact that this diversity was larger in urban environments. In the towns we find mostly German settlers, who were coming to Hungary in several waves from the eleventh century onwards. They usually shared the administration of cities with Magyars (Buda (Ofen)), Slovaks (Žilina (Sillein, Zsolna)), or Croats, Magyars, and Italians (Zagreb (Záhreb, Zágráb)).

Urban society had to struggle with linguistic and ethnic diversity in everyday life. Over the course of time, it seems that town communities came to find a *modus vivendi* in this matter. We must admit that it was often the result of turbulent and sometimes violent conflicts. Town councils and even rulers were forced to appease ethnic disputes between various *nationes*. A division of power in the civic administration between Germans and Slovaks was granted by Louis I of Anjou to Žilina in 1381.[18] The tension between Hungarians and Germans had to be settled in the capital Buda in 1439.[19] After a violent revolt

[15] According to Kottanner's own words, she could neither speak Magyar with him, nor did she trust any interpreter (*The Memoirs of Helene Kottanner*, ed. M.B. WILLIAMSON (Cambridge, 1998), p. 33).

[16] E. FÜGEDI, "*Verba volant ...* : Oral culture and literacy among the medieval Hungarian nobility", in: ID., *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. J. BAK (London, 1986: *Variorum Collected Studies Series*), p. 13.

[17] J. BAK, "A kingdom of many languages", in: ID., *Studying Medieval Rulers and Their Subjects*, ed. G. KLANICZAY and B. NAGY (London, 2010: *Variorum Collected Studies Series*), pp. 50-51.

[18] K. SZENDE, "Integration through language: The multilingual character of late medieval Hungarian towns", in: *Segregation, Integration, Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. D. KEENE, B. NAGY, and K. SZENDE (Farnham, 2009), pp. 205-233, at pp. 214-215.

[19] See details in: A. KUBINYI, "Die Zusammensetzung des städtischen Rates im mittelalterlichen Königreich Ungarn", in: ID., *König und Volk im spätmittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Herne, 1998), pp. 103-123, at pp. 118-119; A. VÉGH, "Buda: The multi-ethnic capital of medieval Hungary", in: *Segregation, Integration, Assimilation*, pp. 89-99, at pp. 90-92.

and fighting between two major communities, King Albrecht I of Habsburg ordered a proportional division of power. And so after this date Hungarians and Germans had the same number of city councillors and their own mayor (*Richter*) every second year. A symbolic presentation of this ethnic equality was recorded in Buda's law and town book (*Ofner Stadtrecht*) from 1403-1440, which stated that all the administration, mayor's speeches and notary's records should be pronounced first in German and then in Hungarian.[20]

The linguistic and ethnic diversity of towns had to be taken into account on every important public occasion if it should be understood and received correctly by all citizens. When Matthias Corvinus was finally crowned King of the Hungarians in Alba Regia (Székesfehérvár, Weissenburg) in 1464, he left the coronation church and went for a joyous ride through the city streets. All along this route people acclaimed the new king in many languages, as the chronicler Antonio Bonfini stressed in his account of this feast.[21] Similarly in 1515, during festivities that accompanied the negotiations of Habsburg and Jagellonian emissaries in Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony), the Esztergom (Ostrihom, Gran) archbishop delivered a speech for the citizens and honourable visitors in no less than four languages (Latin, German, Hungarian, and Slovak).[22]

Probably the best illustrative example comes again from Bratislava. The town delegation went to the country diet in Buda in 1446. In a report to the city council, the emissaries described their presentation in Latin at the diet, but were unable to render an account concerning the further proceedings. As they elegantly wrote (in German) they simply did not understand the Hungarian dialogues: "*Der Ander ist ungrisch den chan Ich euer weishait nit zuschreiben*".[23] The bilingual or rather multilingual character of Hungarian society is reflected in contemporary literacy as well. In urban written documents we can find the parallel use of different languages. The use of German and Latin in the same account (Prešov (Preschau, Eperjes)), the switching from German to Latin and back again in one sentence (Sopron (Ödenburg)), or a unique exam-

[20] SZENDE, "Integration through language", p. 216.

[21] I am grateful to János Bak for this reference.

[22] Based on an eyewitness account of Riccardo Bartolini. See E. FRIMMOVÁ, "Kráľovské stretnutia v Bratislave koncom stredoveku" [Royal meetings in Bratislava in the later Middle Ages], in: *Stredoveké mesto ako miesto stretnutí a komunikácie*, ed. J. LUKACKA and M. ŠTEFÁNIK (Bratislava, 2010), pp. 97-108, at p. 103.

[23] *A Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon* [The Hunyadian age in Hungary], ed. J. TELEKI, 12 vols. (Pest, 1852-1857), 10, p. 185; See also BAK, "A kingdom of many languages", p. 52.

ple where three languages (German, Latin, and Hungarian) were used in the same text (Prešov) all serve to illustrate this multilingualism.[24]

## *Urban Literacy in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*

### *The Development of Literacy*

Latin literacy in Hungary is as old as the Christianised monarchy.[25] The first written documents were produced under the founding king St. Stephen I (1000-1038). He issued several charters, letters, and laws, and the first literary work – a prince's mirror for his son Emerich – was written under his patronage (*Libellus sancti Stephani regis de institutione morum ad Emericum ducem*). The first phase of literacy (eleventh and twelfth centuries) constitutes the age when written culture was introduced to the Kingdom of Hungary. Collections of laws, liturgical codices, and charters were the main products of Latin writing. The society, its administration, and legal procedures remained mainly oral in this period, which can also be attributed to a lack of interest in literacy among the laity.[26]

The first quantitative and qualitative change came at the turn of twelfth and thirteenth centuries during the reign of King Bela III (1172-1196), who introduced a regular royal chancery. In the course of the thirteenth century we can observe a radical spread in the issuing of written documents, especially of new donations after the disastrous Mongol raid in the 1240s. King Bela IV (1235-1270) tried to introduce written petitions to the royal court, a step which

[24] SZENDE, "Integration through language", pp. 219-220.

[25] For general overview see, e.g. A. ADAMSKA, "The introduction of writing in Central Europe (Poland, Hungary, Bohemia)", in: *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, pp. 165-189; L. VESZPRÉMY, "The birth of a structured literacy in Hungary", in: *The Development of Literate Mentalities*, pp. 161-181; R. PRAŽÁK, "Latinské písemnictví v Uhrách 11.-14. století" [Latin written culture in Hungary in the eleventh-fourteenth centuries], in: *Legendy a kroniky koruny uherské*, trans. R. PRAŽÁK (Prague, 1988), pp. 12-30. Of course king Stephen I, in the year 1000, was not starting from scratch. Latin literacy had been brought to this region by missionaries in the first half of the tenth century. Epigraphic relics are even dated to the ninth century. In this study we shall focus only on its development after the foundation of the Christianised monarchy.

[26] L. SOLYMOSI, "Schriftlichkeit und Gesellschaft in der Arpadenzeit: Diplomatische und sphragistische Abhandlungen (Zusammenfassung)", in: ID., *Írásbeliség és társadalom az Árpad-korban. Diplomatikai és pecséttani tanulmányok* (Budapest, 2006), pp. 256-262.

caused vigorous disfavour among the Hungarian nobility.[27] Thousands of charters are preserved from the thirteenth century, among them royal and noble writings. The written word had penetrated considerably wider strata of society, becoming part of legal procedures as well. A unique collection of sources, the so-called *Regestrum Varadiense*,[28] also dates from this period. It is a collection of 389 cases of ordeals, performed mostly by the holding of hot iron at the chapter of Oradea (Varád). Just like all other *loca credibilia* (places of authentication), this was an ideal place for a cooperation of oral and written culture. The large number of these institutions was caused by the fact that Hungary was not able to produce enough lay public notaries in this period.[29] The thirteenth century saw the writing of many historiographical works (chronicles and annals), theological tractates, and catalogues of books, which are preserved until today.[30]

The dominance of oral communication also persisted into later periods, but it had to take into account the spread of literate forms.[31] Considering the final centuries of the Hungarian Middle Ages, i.e. the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, the use of writing was reserved for the clerical sphere, supplied by a few lay individuals who required literary skills for their everyday business. Oral tradition kept the family genealogy alive; oral memory guarded the family or clan's inheritance; and oral testimony and solemn oaths remained decisive in judging legal cases. People in medieval Hungary trusted their memory completely and reached for written records only sporadically.[32] Erik Fügedi suggests that for the roughly four million inhabitants of the medieval Hungarian kingdom, there were only 700 writing officials.[33] The use of writing (except

[27] *Rogerii carmen miserabile*, c. 6, ed. L. JUHÁSZ, in: SRH 2, pp. 543-588, at p. 556.

[28] It has been preserved thanks to its publication in print in 1550. A modern facsimile edition is available: *Regestrum Varadiense examinum ferri candentis ordine chronologico digestum descripta effigie editionis a. 1550 illustratum sumtibusque Capituli Varadiensis lat. rit*., ed. J. KARÁCSONYI and S. BOROVSZKY (Budapest, 1903).

[29] VESZPRÉMY, "The birth of a structured literacy in Hungary", pp. 163-167.

[30] PRAŽÁK, "Latinské písemnictví v Uhrách 11.-14. století", pp. 21-24; K. KOROMPAY, "Naissance des premiers textes Hongrois", in: *Les Hongrois et l'Europe: Conquête et intégration*, ed. S. CSERNUS and K. KOROMPAY (Paris and Szeged, 1999), pp. 359-373, at pp. 368-373.

[31] VESZPRÉMY, "The birth of a structured literacy in Hungary", p. 180; SOLYMOSI, "Schriftlichkeit und Gesellschaft in der Arpadenzeit", p. 270.

[32] FÜGEDI, "*Verba volant*", pp.13 ff., 24.

[33] FÜGEDI, "*Verba volant*", p. 20. These numbers can serve only as approximate values. Only in Bratislava there were six active scribes around 1450. I am grateful to Juraj Šedivý for this remark.

among the clergy) was important for two major groups: the lesser nobility and, first and foremost, the burghers.[34]

## *Urban Literacy*

From the thirteenth century onwards, urban development was rapid.[35] First, cities in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary were receiving their privileges in this era; this was also due to the old ones having been destroyed during the Mongol invasion. With this process we can also trace the development of urban literacy, which had been evolving in gradual steps.

There were four main sources of written production that influenced urban literacy: the royal chancery; nobles and the local administration; ecclesiastic institutions (*loca credibilia*); and foreign towns whose literate traditions were brought to Hungarian cities by newly arriving German *hospites*.[36] The process of urban chanceries becoming ever more widely literate can be shown in the development of written culture in Bratislava.[37] The first phase, a sort of transitory period, dates to the second half of thirteenth century, when the *Richter* (*iudex*) had charters issued by the nearest *locus credibilis*. In Bratislava, this was done by the chancery of the collegiate chapter of St. Salvator. Next, from the middle of fourteenth century, the administration of the town's chancery with its own scribe is documented.[38] The first extant charter of the town of

[34] *Magyarország története 1301-1526* [History of Hungary 1301-1526], ed. P. ENGEL, G. KRISTÓ, and A. KUBINYI (Budapest, 2002), pp.188-189.

[35] ENGEL, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, pp. 244-266.

[36] J. MAJOROSSY and K. SZENDE, "Městské knihy ve středověkých uherských městech (Se zvláštním zřetelem na bratislavskou knihu *Protocollum Testamentorum*)" [Town books in medieval Hungarian towns (With a special focus on the *Protocollum Testamentorum* book from Bratislava)], in: *Ustecký sborník historický: Supplementum* 1, *Stav a perspektívy spřístupňování středověkých a raně novověkých městkých knih*, ed. L. SULITKOVÁ (Ústí nad Labem, 2010), pp. 199-212, at pp. 201-202.

[37] Many contributions have appeared in recent years. For the best overview see J. ŠEDIVÝ, *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur im Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel* (Bratislava, 2007).

[38] J. ŠEDIVÝ, "Die Anfänge der Beurkundung im mittelalterlichen Pressburg (Bratislava)", in: *Wege zur Urkunde, Weg der Urkunde, Wege der Forschung: Beiträge zur europäischen Diplomatik des Mittelalters*, ed. K. HRUZA and P. HEROLD (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar, 2005), pp. 81-115, at pp. 87-97; K. SZENDE, "The uses of Archives in Medieval Hungary", in: *The Development of Literate Mentalities*, pp. 107-142, at p. 118; K. GODA and J. MAJOROSSY, "Städtische Selbstverwaltung und Schriftproduktion im spätmittelalterlichen Königreich Ungarn: Eine Quellenkunde für Ödenburg und Pressburg", in: *Pro Civitate Austriae: Informationen zur Stadtgeschichtsforschung in Österreich. Neue Folge* 13 (Linz, 2008), pp. 62-100, at pp. 81-82.

Bratislava dates from 1311, and was produced by the chapter. The first documents issued by the town chancery date from the 1340s.[39]

The main source of information about levels of literacy, as well as about the everyday life of citizens, can be found in the extant town books. This type of urban book had become inevitable due to the rising production of written documents and the need for the recording of important legal, political, economic, and social developments in the city. Several town books, account books, and testamentary protocols have been preserved from the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Smaller communities would have had only one mixed book for all types of records, while larger towns managed to keep several books, which were diversified according to their content.[40]

Most of the extant town books come from cities in today's Slovakia, because this was the most urbanised part of the former Hungarian kingdom. From present-day Hungary, medieval archives have survived only from Sopron and Buda and Pest.[41] Based on a long scholarly tradition,[42] but especially in recent years, most of the town books of Slovakian medieval towns were edited and published for the academic public.[43] The oldest town books come from Bratislava and Banská Štiavnica (Schmenitz, Selmecbánya) (1364), followed by a specialised book of judicial protocols from Košice (Kaschau, Kassa) (1393-1405), and town books from Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa) (1418), Prešov (1424), Spišská Nová Ves (Zipser Neudorf, Igló) (1383), Trnava (Tyrnau, Nagyszombat) (1394), Zvolen (Altsohl, Zolyóm) (1400), Kežmarok (Käsmarkt, Késmárk) (1434), Žilina (1378), and Kremnica (Kremnitz, Körmöcbánya) (1426).[44]

[39] ŠEDIVÝ, *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur im Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel*, especially pp. 116-118, and 123; see also ŠEDIVÝ, "Die Anfänge der Beurkundung", pp. 81-115.

[40] R. MARSINA, "Mestské knihy na Slovensku v stredoveku" [Town books in Slovakia in the Middle Ages], in: *Stav a perspektívy spřístupňování středověkých*, pp. 107-116, at p. 114; MAJOROSSY and SZENDE, "Městské knihy ve středověkých uherských městech", pp. 204-205.

[41] MARSINA, "Mestské knihy na Slovensku v stredoveku", p. 108.

[42] *Magyarországi városok régi szamadáskönyvei* [Old account books from Hungarian towns], ed. L. FEJÉRPATAKY (Budapest, 1885).

[43] For an overview of the editions and state of research on these sources see MARSINA, "Mestské knihy na Slovensku v stredoveku", pp. 107-116.

[44] Further details on their nature and a list of editions is to be found in I.T. PIIRAINEN, "Městské knihy, právni knihy a soudní knihy: rukopisy ve slovenských archivech" [Town books, law books and court books: Manuscripts in Slovakian archives], in: *Stav a perspektívy spřístupňování středověkých*, pp. 125-135. See also D. LEHOTSKÁ, "K počiatkom vedenia mestských kníh na Slovensku: Najstaršia bratislavská mestská kniha 1364-1538" [The beginnings of use of town books in Slovakia: The oldest town book of Bratislava 1364-1538], *Historické štúdie*

An exemplary case, again, is to be found in the town archives of Bratislava. The capital and coronation city of Hungary in early modern period (1563-1830), it escaped disastrous depredation and burning during the Mongol (thirteenth century) and Turkish (sixteenth-seventeenth centuries) invasions of Hungary. Therefore, the medieval urban archives have been preserved to an unprecedented extent (a similar case can only be found in nearby Sopron). A variety of written documents ranging from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries survive in the Bratislava town archives. The civic administration started gradually, with a single mixed town book, but over the years, as the workload augmented rapidly, the need for specialised books became inevitable. As a result, various documents were produced: the first administrative book was started around 1364; the first town books of a mixed nature survive from 1364 to 1538; a register of the Corpus Christi Confraternity from the 1420s to 1606; one of the oldest town books, called *Protocollum Actionale* (1402-1564); a testamentary book, or *Protocollum Testamentorum* (1410 [1427]-1529); lists of financial accounts known as *Kammerrechnungen* from 1434; estate books called *Grundbücher* (from 1439); lists of juridical proceedings, or *Aechtbucher* (1435-1519); tax and income books (from 1415); and sources connected to religious confraternities or hospital accounts, the oldest of which dates to 1441.[45] It is difficult to comprehend that until now only parts of these sources have been edited and published for scholarly research.[46]

Despite the variety of types of preserved town books, they have thus far been looked at mostly with regard to their formal aspects. Linguistic, diplomatic, and palaeographic issues have been discussed in detail. The contents of town books, as well as their importance for the study of the everyday life of local citizens, has not been the centre of interest. The situation is gradually changing, and thus we begin to find publications dealing with reconstructing the lives of contemporary citizens of the medieval Hungarian kingdom.[47]

5 (1959), pp. 325-347.

[45] See the introductory chapter 1.3, "Städtische Schriftkultur und Testamentserstellung", in: *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum 1410 (1427)-1529*, ed. J. MAJOROSSY and K. SZENDE (Vienna, 2010), pp. 11-20, at pp. 15-16.

[46] Apart from L. Fejerpataky's partial edition (see *supra*, n. 42), there are two recent editions of major importance. *Actionale Protocollum: Das älteste Stadtbuch von Bratislava / Pressburg aus den Jahren 1402-1506*, ed. A. ZIEGLER (Bratislava, 1999), and *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum 1410 (1427)-1529*.

[47] K. SZENDE, *Otthon a városban: Társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* [At home in the city: Social and material culture in medieval Sopron, Bratislava and Prešov] (Budapest, 2004); J. MAJOROSSY, *Church in Town: Urban Religious Life*

## *Urban Rituals in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*

The best place to be informed of new thoughts, dispatches, and other kinds of information was the city's marketplace. Public, symbolic, and ritualised communication was the universal way for transmitting codes and declarations so that they would be clear and understandable to everyone,[48] regardless of their ethno-linguistic origin or literate skills. In studying these rituals one has to focus on all components of the communicative process: the sender, the message, the receiver, and the specific conditions of such acts of communication.[49]

Urban rituals or civic ceremonies are not an easy set of rituals to specify. They overlap with many neighbouring areas within what could be categorised as ritualised communication. The only common ground is that they happen in urban environments, and that citizens take a (more or less active) part in them. Urban symbolic actions could become a part of monarchic rituals, religious or ecclesiastic ceremonies, or *rites de passage* of people that happened to live in a town. One the one hand, this rich complex gives us the opportunity to study the use and function of urban rituals among wide strata of medieval society, while on the other hand, it is often difficult to discern whether a particular ritual performance belongs to the urban or monarchical sphere, or to make other distinctions.[50]

It does not matter whether we call them urban rituals, civic ceremonies, or city spectacles. The manners of communication and the presentation of urban ways of life that evolved throughout the centuries in medieval Europe were a rich conglomerate of public statements, festive celebrations, allegorical dramatic performances, and the presentation of civic tradition and law.[51] In medieval Hungary, from the second half of the thirteenth century, but mainly between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the rise of towns and civic

*in Late Medieval Pressburg in the Mirror of Last Wills* (PhD dissertation, Budapest, Central European University, 2006).

[48] G. ALTHOFF, "The variability of rituals in the Middle Ages", in: *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. G. ALTHOFF, J. FRIED, and P.J. GEARY (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 71-87, at p. 86.

[49] MOSTERT, "New approaches to medieval communication?", pp. 18-21; *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, pp. XIII-XVI.

[50] *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, pp. XVI-XVII; A. BROWN, "Civic ritual: Bruges and the counts of Flanders in the later Middle Ages", *The English Historical Review* 112 (1997), pp. 277-299, at p. 277.

[51] *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. B.A. HANAWALT and K.L. REYERSON (Minneapolis and London, 1999), pp. IX-XVIII.

society,[52] we are able to observe the establishment of urban rituals as a means of communication among townspeople.

The most thoroughly elaborated and widespread ritual throughout Hungarian cities, just as elsewhere in Europe, was the ceremonial and solemn entry of the ruler, the *adventus regis* (*augusti*, *domini*), into a town, most likely on a specific occasion. This ritual was always accompanied by other urban or religious ceremonies and rites.[53] Another prominent place was reserved for the ever-present religious processions, either on the town patron's feast or on other solemn occasions.[54] The commemoration of important days in the town's history – such as the foundation of the *civitas*, obtaining of civic privileges, victory in a famous battle or gaining freedom – provided occasions perfectly suited to demonstrating the city's pride, tradition, and spirit to everyone outside. And we must not forget the genuine urban rituals such as the election and inauguration of the mayor (*Richter*, *iudex*), and that of the town council, the public settlement of disputes, the producing and destroying of charters – and sometimes even the ritual punishments and executions of those who disobeyed the town's ordinations.[55] We shall also look at the coexistence of ritualised and written communication, and the use of written documents in ceremonial actions: the symbolic erasure of scripts from town books; written accounts about rituals in account books; prescriptiones of rituals in town ordinations and laws; and the description of rituals in narrative sources.

[52] See, e.g. E. FÜGEDI, "Die Entstehung des Städtewesens in Ungarn", in: ID., *Kings, Bishops, Nobles*, pp. 101-118.

[53] See, e.g. E.H. KANTOROWICZ, "The 'King's Advent' and the enigmatic panels in the doors of Santa Sabina", *Art Bulletin* 26.4 (1944), pp. 207-231; L.-M. BRYANT, "The medieval entry ceremony at Paris", in: *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. J.M. BAK (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 88-113. For the Central European context see, e.g. V. HONEMANN, "Herrscheradventus in städtischer Perspektive: Der Einzug des Königs Matthias Corvinus in Breslau 1469 und seine Darstellung in der Chronik des Peter Eschenloer", in: *The Mediation of Symbol in Late Medieval and Early Modern Times*, ed. R. SUNTRUP, J.R. VEENSTRA, and A. BOLLMANN (Frankfurt a.M., 2005), pp. 145-162; F. ŠMAHEL, *Gesta Karla IV. do Francie 1377-1378* [Journey of Charles IV to France] (Prague, 2006), pp. 260-269.

[54] BROWN, "Civic Ritual", pp. 281, 289.

[55] See, e.g. BROWN and SMALL, *Court and Civic Society*; T. ZOTZ, "Die Stadtgesellschaft und ihre Feste", in: *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter*, ed. D. ALTENBURG *et al*. (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 201-213; ARNADE, "City, state, and public ritual", p. 300; A. ADAMSKA and M. MOSTERT, "The 'violent death' of medieval charters: Some observations on the symbolic uses of documents", in: *Ecclesia – cultura – potestas: Studia z dziejów kultury I społeczeństwa*, ed. P. KRAS and A. JANUSZEK (Cracow, 2007), pp. 699-710.

Our sources do not allow us to reconstruct the solely urban ritual communication in the same way as this is possible for the western parts of medieval Europe.[56] There was no urban historiography in the later Middle Ages that could give us views of the townspeople in their everyday life, including public ritualised communication. We have to draw our information from the remains of the urban written production and from accounts preserved in narrative sources.

### *Urban Rituals According to Urban Sources: Civic Ceremonies*

To reconstruct and interpret the urban ceremonies of a medieval Hungarian town is a demanding task. The extant corpus of urban literary sources allows us to penetrate this form of communication to some extent only. The main sources are therefore the preserved account books, town books, testamentary protocols, and juridical accounts. From these we can extract the following information.

### *Religious Ceremonies*

Quite understandably most festive occasions, whether public or private, were influenced by religious ideology. The influence and power of the Church were omnipresent. We can observe religious ceremonies that took place in the city the whole year round. The communal year had been divided into segments, and all of them had their own festivities.[57] The church ceremonies included solemn masses, town patron's celebrations, processions on the most important feasts, and rituals of personal piety or in urban confraternities.

[56] We are facing the fact that vast majority of written documents kept in urban archives were destroyed during the long-standing Turkish occupation of large parts of the Kingdom of Hungary. Our knowledge of sources before the sixteenth century is therefore only limited and fragmentary. See, e,g. A. KUBINYI, "Alltag und Fest am ungarischen Königshof der Jagellonen 1490-1526", in: *Alltag bei Hofe*, ed. W. PARAVICINI (Sigmaringen, 1995: *Residenzenforschung* 5), pp. 197-215, at p. 197.

[57] See for example an interesting study of Ch. Phythian-Adams. Although he has brought out several good points, his strict division between the ritual and secular halves of the year is no longer sustainable (PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, "Ceremony and the citizen", pp. 238-261).

Religious ceremonies can be studied within the festive life of religious civic confraternities. The towns in medieval Hungary were home to several religious confraternities. The most widespread were devoted to Corpus Christi, the Virgin Mary, and to the local patron saints.[58] The ceremonies performed by confraternities did not have any common number or prescribed structure. The number of masses and processions diverged from town to town, and from one confraternity to another. Their frequency could range from once a week to once in a year.[59]

The uniqueness of written sources preserved from the medieval archive of Bratislava has already been mentioned. Among its treasures, the statutes of the Corpus Christi confraternity dating from the year 1447 together with the extant testamentary protocols are valuable sources of information about the religious life of this medieval town. The common ceremonial life of the members of the confraternity included celebrations of solemn masses. This took place every Thursday in the main city church, St. Martin's church. The participants took part in the liturgy, including a solemn procession and prayers on their knees with candles in their hands. The singing of the Psalms and taking care of the Eucharist accompanied these events.[60]

The main feast of the religious year, ideal for lavish and ostentatious celebrations, was the feast of Corpus Christi. The elite confraternity of Bratislava could not miss this chance to present itself in a ceremonial way. This major feast was celebrated by the entire urban community. The city, as well as the confraternity, would spend a considerable amount of money for this purpose. From their extant account books we can find out how much money was spent in preparation for the feast: money was doled out for festive meals, guards of the gates, students and porters of the baldachin, priests, trumpeters, and the decoration of the city streets.[61]

[58] J. MAJOROSSY, "Late medieval confraternities in Pressburg", in: *Pfarreien im Mittelalter: Deutschland, Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn im Vergleich*, ed. N. KRUPPA (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 339-362, at pp. 346-359.

[59] M.-M. DE CEVINS, *L'église dans les villes hongroises a la fin du moyen age: Vers 1320-vers 1490* (Budapest, 2003), pp. 206-207. Includes examples for Banská Bystrica, Sopron or Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben).

[60] J. MAJOROSSY, "Bratstvo Božieho tela a jeho miesto v živote mešťanov stredovekej Bratislavy" [The Corpus Christi confraternity and its place in the lives of the citizens of medieval Bratislava], in: *Z Bardejova do Prešporku*, ed. E. CSUKOVITS and T. LENGYELOVA (Prešov and Bratislava, 2005), pp. 176-210, at p. 190.

[61] MAJOROSSY, "Bratstvo Božieho tela", pp. 190-192.

The main highlight of the Corpus Christi festivities in Bratislava, just like in any other medieval town, was the solemn procession through the main streets and marketplaces. A crowd composed of the urban elite, the members of the confraternity, and regular citizens took part in the procession. Everyone who meant anything or had an important position in the town's governance had to be present in the flock. The representatives of the secular clergy, monks, local nobility, the most prominent townsmen, merchants and craftsmen – all took part in the ceremonial march though the city, carrying the Corpus Christi under a baldachin, torches and incense in their hands. Alms and hymns were sung as the church bells were loudly ringing in the air.[62] The festivities could be complemented by dramatic theatre. There is clear evidence that biblical plays were staged in Bratislava in 1440, when a dramatic performance took place on the main square. A special stage for actors and stands for viewers had been built for this occasion.[63]

The private sphere of the medieval citizen's religious life included ritualised behaviour as well. This leads us to the realm of *rites de passage*. Except for a few legal articles, the extant source material does not give us any detailed information about festivities relating to births, baptisms, and weddings in towns during the period of the medieval Hungarian kingdom.[64] A domain better covered by urban written sources is that of the journey from this world to the next. The rituals of dying, part of the stylised and highly valued contemporary attitude expressed in the *ars moriendi*, were also in the care of religious confraternities. Sources from the towns of Sopron, Bratislava, and the nearby Austrian capital Vienna give a similar picture of how these rites should have been carried out. One of the main responsibilities of the confraternities was to secure that a dying member of the confraternity would receive the *viaticum* on time, when necessary. This could take the form of a ceremonial procession, when the Eucharist was brought to the dying person, usually by a priest. He would be

[62] For other examples from medieval Kingdom of Hungary see: DE CEVINS, *L'église dans les villes hongroises*, p. 209. For further comparisons throughout Europe see M. RUBIN, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

[63] MAJOROSSY, "Bratstvo Božieho tela", pp. 192-193.

[64] Some general prescriptions are preserved in the Buda town law book (*Ofner Stadtrecht*); see: *Das Ofner Stadtrecht: Eine deutschsprachige Rechtssammlung des 15. Jahrhunderts aus Ungarn*, ed. K. MOLLAY (Budapest, 1959), cc. 279-281, p. 153. A wedding contract from Bratislava dates from 1444. See: *Actionale Protocollum*, p. 267. Further examples can be found in the town law book of Žilina; see: *Žilinská právna kniha: Preklad Magdeburského práva: Zápisy právnych úkonov žilinských mešťanov* [Law book of Žilina: Translation of Magdeburg law: Inscriptions of legal procedures of Žilina citizens], ed. and trans. R. KUCHÁR (Žilina, 2009).

accompanied by members of the confraternity (or boys or students hired to take their place), who were carrying torches and singing hymns. It is likely, however, that most dying citizens did not have access to such a ceremonial *exitus* from those close to them.[65]

### *Crime and Punishment*

Medieval towns were certainly not immune to crime and violence. Town laws and the magistrate were persistently focused on attempting to regulate the frequency and magnitude of violent disruptions of the civic harmony – the so-called peace (termed as *frid* in 1403-1440 in the Buda town law or *pokog* in 1473 in the urban law of Žilina).[66] The juridical administration developed its own rituals of punishment to fight crime within the city walls. Among the oldest execution rituals we find burning, drowning, and burying alive. Their sense was first and foremost to radically crush and erase the criminals, so that not even a memory of them would persist. This gave the executions a quasi-purifying ritual meaning in medieval society.[67]

In some cases the ritualised punishments were accompanied by rites of torture and humiliation. One of the most shameful was the humiliating ride through the city in a 'procession of shame'. The accused criminal was taken through the city streets locked in chains.[68] Another humiliating, painful, and often mortal ritual punishment was exacted by dragging the villain through the town attached to a horse's tail. One such instance of this involved a certain citizen of Buda called Martin Sclavus, who endured this fate in 1403 for his rebellion against the magistrate.[69]

Several towns in the Hungarian kingdom were home to a specific institution, the *loca credibilia*. Chapters or monasteries designated in this way were also entrusted to carry out ordeals. They were usually performed in the form of

[65] MAJOROSSY, *Church in Town*, pp. 55-62.

[66] *Ofner Stadtrecht*, c. 226, pp. 136-137; *Žilinská právna kniha*, c. 141, p. 43; See also M. BADA, "Zápisy v Žilinskej knihe", in: *Z Bardejova do Prešporku*, pp. 103-127, at p. 116.

[67] R. VAN DÜLMEN, *Divadlo hrůzy: Soudní praxe a trestní rituály v raném novověku* (Prague, 2001), p. 116; originally published as *Theater des Schreckens* (Munich, 1995).

[68] This was the case for a certain Marta, who was falsely accused of stealing money in 1501: "*Tehdy Martha wedle prawa nasse[h]o v wiezeni g[es]t sediela y na rzetiezi gi wodili*" (*Žilinská právna kniha*, c. 43, p. 113); see also BADA, "Zápisy v Žilinskej knihe", pp. 117-118.

[69] "*... in caudis equorum per vicos et plateas civitatis crudeliter trahi fecit ...*" (*Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV.*, cap. 193, ed. in: SRH 1, p. 485).

the carrying of hot iron, as we have seen in the case of Oradea, but there were other forms too. In Bratislava, for example, duelling with swords was the most common ritual of ordeal. The winner of such a fight was proclaimed to be the winning party in the disputed juridical process. References to this kind of settlement of conflicts are preserved for a number of years (1289, 1299, 1416).[70]

In spite of the harsh punishments listed in urban law collections and juridical codes, the frequency and brutality of criminal assaults did not decrease throughout the later Middle Ages. The sources preserved in urban written documents give a complex picture of the criminal offences in Hungarian towns. The town books of Bratislava, Bardejov, Košice, and Prešov provide evidence of numerous fights and disruptions of the communal peace; burglaries and murders; violations of women,[71] men, and children; injuries and accidental killings; infanticide and other violence in everyday life.[72] There should be no need to emphasise that the amount of violent cases is widely skewed towards places such as local pubs and wine cellars. Special categories of criminal assault included crimes committed in households between members of a family, and crimes of humiliation including the stretching of hair, tearing out of a beard, or biting in public. These crimes, together with public insults, were focused on one's pride and honour and were subject to specialised penalties.[73]

The picture of life in medieval towns has often suffered from the negative and sometimes superficial assessments first propogated by the historiography of the Enlightenment and positivism. They tried to convince us that medieval urban justice was a barbaric and brutal machine, crushing its victims without

[70] A. ŠPIESZ, *Bratislava v stredoveku* [Bratislava in the Middle Ages] (Bratislava, 2001), p. 85.

[71] The ritual rape of a woman by seven young men from the vicinity of Prešov is a parallel of numerous similar cases throughout medieval Europe (esp. Italy and France). See: B. SZEGHYOVÁ, "Násilie a riešenie konfliktov v každodennom živote mešťanov v 16. storočí" [Violence and the settlement of conflicts in the everyday life of citizens in the sixteenth century], in: *Z Bardejova do Prešporku*, pp. 149-167, at pp. 156-157.

[72] An illustrative example can be seen in the number of crimes which could be committed by a single trespasser. On 13 July 1460 the town council of Žilina enumerated the vile deeds of a certain Semla: he stole the money bag of a fellow citizen; he seduced the wife of the local goldsmith, which caused humiliation for the whole community; then he took by force another married woman from her own house, in the night, and was breaking the windows of houses while entirely naked. Later, he wanted to beat the *Richter* (*fojt*) with three rods, and finally he tried to beat another citizen inside of his house. See: *Žilinská právna kniha*, c. 2, p. 85. For other references see also c. 54, pp. 120-121. For criminal cases from Bratislava: *Actionale protcollum*, pp. 82, 90.

[73] SZEGHYOVÁ, "Násilie a riešenie konfliktov", pp. 160-165.

mercy or exception. Today we know that this picture does not convey the contemporary reality. In fact, cruel punishments were scarcely ever performed.[74] An accused person could save himself by various ceremonial procedures. One of them was the solemn taking of an oath in front of the *iudex* or city council, by which the accused asserted his innocence. Another way was the mediation and supplication of mediators and guarantors, who had made a warranty in favour of the accused. They would also be responsible for him, and if he were to commit any other crime, they could be taken into custody in his place. Among the punishments that could be meted out to the guilty was also expulsion from the community for several years or for life.[75]

In connection with efforts to escape harsh punishment, a specific ritual developed: the penitential pilgrimage. For inhabitants of towns in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary three destinations were especially popular: Rome, Santiago de Compostela, and Aachen. This ritual penance, which could be undertaken in person or by substitutes, had two social goals. The first was to receive forgiveness for the committed crime through the intercession of the saints; the second was that the accused would have left the place of his sin.[76]

Here we can also observe an interesting ritual in writing procedure. After accomplishing the required satisfaction, or after clearance by solemn oath, the record concerning the accused person's crime would be symbolically overwritten, annotated with the absolving verdict or completely erased from the town book or juridical protocol. After erasure, the fact of the transgression was forbidden from ever being mentioned again. In other cases, after having been found guilty of committing a serious crime, the citizen's name was erased from the town book and in turn was supposed to be erased from the collective memory.[77]

[74] An extremely cruel execution took place in 1403, when the king Sigismund ordered the punishment of *banus* John Horvati for his rebellion against the king. The victim was dragged through the streets of Pécs (Fünfkirchen) attached to a horse's tail; then he was tortured by hot iron, quartered, and his remains were ostentatiously spiked on the city gate as a warning to all possible followers of his treason (see *Johannes de Thurocz Chronica Hungarorum*, c. 199, ed. E. GALÁNTAI and J. KRISTÓ (Budapest, 1985)).

[75] E. CSUKOVITS, "Zločin a trest v stredovekej mestskej praxi" [Crime and punishment in medieval legal practice], in: *Z Bardejova do Prešporku*, pp. 128-148, at pp. 141-145.

[76] CSUKOVITS, "Zločin a trest v stredovekej mestskej praxi", pp. 145-148.

[77] "*... zeo deletus est de libro civitatis propter homicidium quod perpetravit ...*" (in FEJÉRPATAKY, *Magyarországi városok régi szamadáskönyvei*, p. 98); see also CSUKOVITS, "Zločin a trest v stredovekej mestskej praxi", pp. 147-148.

*Elections of Officers and Civic Administration*

Without any doubt one of the main areas in which one is able to follow ritualised behaviour is in the creation and, later, in the actions of the city council. The election of the mayor – or the Hungarian parallel, the *iudex* (*Richter*, *fojt*) – and his inauguration, as well as the seating and deliberations of the city council, all had their own rules and ceremonial procedures. In the medieval capital Buda, the rituals of the city council reflected the ethnic diversity of the community. The council was divided between Germans and Hungarians (their number continued to change until 1439, when a proportional ratio was ordered by the king), and the office of the mayor fluctuated between both ethnicities. All of the rituals of the city council reflected this diversity in the election process, the inauguration ceremony, and the protocol of the discussions.[78]

The *Ofner Stadtrecht* includes several paragraphs which prescribe the election and inauguration protocol of the mayor, city council, and city clerk (*Richter*, *Ratherren*, *Statschreiber*). It describes the model procedure of solemn oaths that they were supposed to undertake, and sometimes even presents short texts of the swearing formulas used in these events. The importance and frequent use of oaths in medieval society is well known.[79] It appears in many paragraphs of the Buda town law too, describing various possible situations. One of the most interesting in our context is the possibility to testify by swearing an oath in case of the loss of written documents.[80]

The most important ritual in the urban milieu was the election and inauguration of the mayor.[81] It was a popular feast throughout the Middle Ages. It incorporated numerous rituals: the solemn mass in the city church, the ceremonial election of the new mayor, public pronunciation of oaths, and the reading of the town's privileges.[82] Typically, it all ended in a festive meal in honour of the new leader of the community. The townspeople regarded this last part as one of their ancient privileges, which they were not ready to let go of. We have a good example of this from the sixteenth century from the town of Banská Bystrica. In 1574 the newly elected mayor Paul Tham did not prepare a cere-

[78] KUBINYI, "Zussammensetzungen", pp. 109-111.

[79] See M. GERWING *et al.*, "Eid", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols. (Munich and Zürich, then Stuttgart and Weimar, 1977-1999), 3, cols. 1673-1692.

[80] *Ofner Stadtrecht*, c. 314-319, pp. 163-166 and c. 385, p. 184.

[81] For Buda, see *Ofner Stadtrecht*, c. 24, pp. 67-68; c. 32, pp. 70-72.

[82] For an overview of the rites in pre-modern Europe see S. RÜTHER, "Herrschaft auf Zeit: Rituale der Ratswahl in der vormodernen Stadt", in: *Spektakel der Macht*, pp. 33-37.

monial feast for his citizens on this occasion. This resulted in a written complaint of the burghers addressed to the city council. The main argument was as follows: the mayor has deliberately abolished a common and traditional ceremonial feast, which had been a requirement on this occasion for many generations. According to old town customs, the newly elected mayor was obliged to provide the townspeople with a lavish meal and a ceremonial mayor's drink. The discontented citizens insisted that the city council observe this old privilege.[83]

### *Rituals and Feasts in Daily Life*

Rituals were also present in the everyday life of the inhabitants of medieval towns. It has been argued that the high ritualisation in earlier medieval society was due to the lack and slow spread of literacy among the people. This premise is no longer unquestionable.[84] In the late medieval Hungarian kingdom, at least, we can prove that rituals continued to play an important role in social interaction and public communication after the spread of literacy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Non-verbal symbolic communication lived side by side with the increasingly written but still strongly oral ways of communication.

The function of rituals in medieval urban society was their ability to unite. We know that a city was anything but a homogeneous community of people. The differences between the laity and the clergy, men and women, rich merchants and poor workers, the patriciate and common inhabitants were ubiquitous. Major ceremonial events performed during the most important feasts in a town's calendar were ideal for creating a united, peaceful, and strong *civitas*. Another interesting opportunity came with so-called reversal rituals, in which the common order of society would be turned upside down. The most prominent of these was the Christmas inversion and humiliation of the mayor – frequently documented for English towns[85] – who would become the object of ridicule and public humiliation from his fellow burghers. Afterwards, the city

[83] I. GRAUS, "Mešťan a jeho voľný čas" [The citizen and his free time], in: *Z Bardejova do Prešporku*, pp. 254-266, at pp. 255-256.

[84] K. LEYSER, "Ritual, ceremony and gesture: Ottonian Germany", in: ID., *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries* (London and Rio Grande, 1994), pp. 94-95; See also *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, p. XVIII.

[85] PHYTHIAM-ADAMS, "Ceremony and the citizen", pp. 238-252.

woke up to another day, with the status quo unchanged. These occasional ritual reversals did not shake the foundations of medieval urban structure.

Almost every important public or private action in a medieval citizen's life was ritualised to a certain degree. Burghers used their own rituals for weddings, baptisms, and funerals. Also ritualised were the performance of feasts, meals, dramatic plays, musical and artistic performances, celebrations of important political or military achievements, and the welcoming of secular or ecclesiastic visitors and dignitaries. Since all of these events represented a financial burden for the city community, we can reconstruct some features of these events based on preserved financial accounts. Among other such occasions, the expenses for the visit of King Sigismund of Luxembourg in 1410 (with the Austrian duke Ernest) and in 1419 (with the bishop of Passau) in Bratislava can be found in the financial accounts of the city.[86]

Near the end of the later Middle Ages and at the onset of the early modern era we can also observe townspeople's interest in sport, hunting, and fishing, even though these were not specifically urban rituals. Even the most mundane and tedious happenings, such as, for instance, the practice of civic fire drills, had their own rules of the game. In Banská Bystrica, four times a year the entire city had to take part in ceremonial marching and practice. As compensation, the citizens always turned these practices into wild feasts with music, food, and copious amounts of alcohol. Free beer and wine was provided to participants in the drills.[87]

## *Civic and Royal Ritual: The City and the King*

The late medieval town was the perfect stage for public communication, as we have already seen. This point was as obvious to the citizens as it was to contemporary rulers. The kings, princes, and prelates knew the value of urban community, and they used the town as the stage for their rituals. In this respect we can talk about communication between rulers and citizens using rituals, gestures, and other forms of symbolic communication to express their mutual relations.[88] In late medieval Hungary it is obvious that all the important rituals

[86] FEJÉRPATAKY, *Magyarországi városok régi szamadáskönyvei*, pp. 41-59.

[87] GRAUS, "Mešťan a jeho voľný čas", p. 255.

[88] *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, pp. XVI-XX; ZOTZ, "Die Stadtgesellschaft und ihre Feste", pp. 201-213; LECUPPRE-DESJARDIN, *La ville des cérémonies*, p. 326.

of kings and princes took place inside city walls. These rituals did not find their way into urban pragmatic literacy; in fact, mentions about these events are quite sporadic.[89] The only exceptions are some articles in the *Ofner Stadtrecht*. We can find traces of most of these rituals, however, in contemporary narrative sources.

Contemporary narrative sources are almost exclusively written from the point of view of the rulers or the nobility. The history of the Hungarian kingdom is seen from the perspective of kings and their actions. This is also true for the narrative records about urban concerns. All the urban rituals are closely bound to the person of the king and his proximate nobles and prelates. The ritual, as well as the city, are interesting only in connection with a ruler's activity and his glorification. This results in the fact that the urban rituals of Hungarian towns that are documented are strongly influenced by a regalian, monarchic, and courtly ideology and perspective.

These festivities included rituals such as the ceremonial entries of rulers into cities; submissions of towns to their princes; coronations of rulers; their funerals, weddings, and baptisms, and those of important citizens or nobles; public ceremonies such as ennoblement, making donations, and the knighting of valiant warriors. A very important place was also reserved for games and plays. Influenced by a delayed wave of courtly culture and chivalric ideals, Hungarian kings and nobles were eager to take part in all sorts of tournaments, chivalric competitions, horse courses, etc.[90]

## Adventus regis

The most important and best documented ritual that took place in an urban environment in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary is definitely the solemn and joyous entry of the king into a city, the *adventus regis*. Royal entry is one of the oldest and most common rituals in the whole of medieval Europe.[91] For this

[89] See *supra*, n. 86, for the expenses of Bratislava during festive visits of King Sigismund and his guests.

[90] D. DVOŘÁKOVÁ, *Rytier a jeho kráľ: Stibor zo Stiboríc a Žigmund Luxemburský: Sonda do života stredovekého uhorského šľachtica s osobitým zreteľom na územie Slovenska* [The knight and his king: Stibor of Stiborice and Sigismund of Luxembourg: Probe into the life of a medieval Hungarian nobleman with special regard to the territory of Slovakia] (Budmerice, 2003), pp. 203-217, 290-291.

[91] J. BLANCHARD, "Le spectacle du rite: Les entrées royales" *Revue Historique* 105.3

reason it can be traced in almost all types of sources (charters, urban accounts, town law books, and narrative sources). It was carried out according to the same model in every country, no matter the period, with the inclusion of some minor local supplements. In the Hungarian kingdom, we can find evidence of the *adventus regis* as early as from the dawn of the Christianised state at the beginning of the eleventh century.[92] The 'real' entry into town is to be observed only from the end of thirteenth century onwards, with the rise of the *civitas* in Hungary.

Hungarian kings and nobles became familiar with ceremonial receptions during their many visits to towns that were under their governance but outside the Hungarian kingdom. This was the case of King Andrew II (1205-1235), who used this ritual to communicate with the Dalmatian cities. These cities were under strong Italian urban influence, and more sensitive to civic ceremonies than Hungarian towns. Andrew II tried to define these ceremonies as official. In several extant charters he tried to remind the citizens of Trogir and Nin of their ceremonial duty towards their ruler.[93] That the citizens took these admonitions seriously can be seen in a description of the *adventus* of King Andrew in 1217, when he was welcomed by the citizens of Split during his crusade to the Holy Land.[94] Other cases have been recorded for the years 1414-1418, when the Hungarian king and emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387-1437) entered the city of Constance several times.[95] Similar performances can be found all over in Hungarian sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Many accounts in contemporary chronicles, annals, and letters give us a solid grip on the structure and performance of this ritual. The *adventus regis* was a particularly vital ritual for both the ruler and the citizens, and their rela-

(2003), pp. 475-519; B. GUENÉE and F. LEHOUX, *Les entrées royales francaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris,1968), esp. pp. 7-30.

[92] The oldest description of an *adventus regis* into a monastery is the prescription of the welcoming acts ("*De osculo abbatis vel monachi erga regem vel episcopum*") in the so-called Book One of the *Laws of King St. Ladislas*, dating to 1092. See *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae, 1 (1000-1301) – The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, 1 (1000-1301)*, ed. J.M. BAK, G. BÓNIS, and J.R. SWEENEY (Bakersfield, 1989), p. 58.

[93] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae, et Slavoniae*, 2, *Listine XII vijeka (1101-1200)*, ed. T. SMIČIKLAS (Zagreb, 1904), pp. 51 and 361.

[94] This entry has been recorded by archdeacon Thomas of Split in his chronicle (*Historia Salonitana*, c. 25, p. 160).

[95] *Ulrich Richental, Kostnická kronika* [Ulrich Richental, the Chronicle of Constance], ed. M. PAPSONOVÁ, F. ŠMAHEL, and D. DVOŘÁKOVÁ (Budmerice, 2009), c. 201, pp. 208-209.

tion was very well expressed in it. Most of the Hungarian kings had relied on the financial and political help of towns in their struggle against the high nobility. The citizens used these opportunities for lending to strengthen their relation with the ruler, for gaining more and richer privileges. On the other hand, when the king could not repay the money he had borrowed from nobles and magnates, he preferred to relinquish his sovereignty over a certain town and subject it to a local nobleman as a deposit until he was able to return the borrowed funds. Performing the *adventus regis* in a solemn and binding way was the perfect way to demonstrate, strengthen, and communicate the relationship between the ruler and his town. By honouring the king with a joyous entry, thereby recognising his sovereign rule over the town, the citizens gained a guarantee of civic privileges and sometimes could even force him to make a solemn oath about the inalienability of the city's independence.[96] In this respect the *adventus*, just as all other rituals, was an interactive process.

As a rare exception among political rituals, the welcoming of the incoming ruler has found its way into town books and law collections. This is the case with the *Ofner Stadtrecht*. In article No. 7 we read:

> If it happens that after the king travels abroad or spends more time away, and then returns to the homeland and to the vicinity of the town, men and women, young and old, together with priests from all churches and monasteries, festively decorated, take part in a procession with banners and solemnly with burning candles, and so they shall go towards him. And the city *Richter* (mayor) together with city councillors and with other honourable citizens, who are able to do so, shall ride towards him and they should welcome him honourably. Then they should escort him into the citadel where the *Richter* should in all humility ask the king for permission to leave. Then he should go with all the citizens back home. All the bells from all the churches and monasteries should ring during the whole time.[97]

The showing of reverence to the king was one of the basic duties of the civic community. In addition, it was a symbolic privilege to get close to the anointed ruler. The citizens of Buda had, according to the *Ofner Stadtrecht*, another ceremonial duty. During the royal coronation in Alba Regia, they were awarded the honour of standing guard at the main entrance of the coronation church

[96] T. BOROVSKÝ, "*Adventus regis* v životě středověkého města" [*Adventus regis* in the life of the medieval town], in: *Od knížat ke králům: Sborník u příležitosti 60. narozenin Josefa Žemličky*, ed. E. DOLEZALOVÁ and R. ŠIMŮNEK (Prague, 2007), pp. 338-348, at p. 241.

[97] *Ofner Stadtrecht*, c. 7, p. 61. Translation by the author.

during the whole ceremony. After the coronation, they had to accompany the king or queen until they reached their lodgings.[98]

In general, we can discern three major types of royal entries. First, the formal and almost juridical first entry of the newly anointed and crowned king into a certain city, which in symbolic terms demonstrated his authority over the town as a part of his realm. This type was described in detail by the famous Polish chronicler Joannes Długosz in an account of the election, *adventus*, and coronation of the king of Hungary Vladislas I in 1440, in Alba Regia and Buda respectively.[99] Joyous entries of other Hungarian kings were performed after a generally identical model, very close to their Occidental parallels.[100]

[98] *Ofner Stadtrecht*, c. 6, p 61.

[99] "*Sabbato in vigilia Sanctae Trinitatis Wladislaus Rex Poloniae facto prandio in Pieczki, transit in navibus Danubium, et ordinatis cohortibus, intrat Budam (quae a veteribus Sicambria a monte Sikan ei proximo dicebatur) per portam, quae ducit ad Eczelburg, pulcherrimo ordine cum Praelatis et baronibus utriusque Regni. Omnes autem ecclesiae parochiales et conventuales cum sarcis reliquiis et processionibus et populo civitatis Budensis utriusque sexus suam Maiestatem excipiunt, honoroficant et invitant. Rex autem descendes de equo, adoratis humiliter Sanctorum ossibus, et populo dextera data, equo resumpto, cum nobili et inclyta pompa Budam ingreditur. Quo portam civitatis ingrediente, milites et nobiles Poloniae et Hungariae, quos pro apprehendenda possessione civitatis Budensis transmiserat, armis induti et in tres turmas divisi, pedestres occurrunt. In una erant milites et nobiles praestantiores, in altera eorum familiares galeati cum balistis, in tertia pueri etiam galeati portantes scuta et lanceas. Hi omnes flexis genibus Wladislaum Regem excipiunt et adorant, et suae Serenitati civitatem Budensem, qua aliquanto custodiebant tempore fideliter, tradunt et resignant, ipsumque Wladislaum ab omni parte circumdatum, quo facilius inter pedites ab omni turba videri posset, usque in castrum comitantur, subsequente Wladislaum Regem ... .et multis Praelatis et baronibus Poloniae et Hungariae. Turba civitatis ubique per plateas et domos, ut vultum et faciem tam illustrissimi Principis et pompam militum suorum viderent, effusa, matronae, virginesque ingenuae, ad ingressum Regis ex fenestris tectisque catervatim pendebant. ... ..et in Beatae Mariae parochiali ecclesia audit divina, et processionem sequitur, et per omnes Octavas festi aut in castro aut in civitate processionibus et divinis interest mysteriis*" (*Joannis Dlugossii seu Longini canonici Cracoviensis Historiae Polonicae Libri XII*, ed. I.P. ŻEGOTA, 4 vols. (Cracow, 1873-1877), 4, pp. 633-634.

[100] *The Hungarian Chronicle of the Fourteenth Century* gives us an account of *adventus regis* performed by king Louis I the Great (1342-1380), which included the three most important towns in the fourteenth-century Hungarian kingdom, Visegrád, Buda, and Alba Regia. See *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, c. 212, ed. in: SRH 1, pp. 504-505: "*Deinde ipse rex Lodouicus Budam veniens, ibi ab omni populo ac civibus et clero virisque religiosis omnibus cum magna reverentia et honore est susceptus, prout regiam decet maiestatem*". Similar, but less detailed descriptions can be found in other Hungarian chronicles (*Chronicon Pictum, Chronicon Dubniciense, Johannes de Thurocz*) concerning the coronations and later solemn entries to towns by kings Ladislas (V) (the Czech king Wenceslas III) in 1301, Otto I in 1305 or Charles II in 1385 (*Chronicon Dubnicense*, c. 132, ed. M. FLORIANUS (Pécs, 1884), pp. 112-113; *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, c. 191, ed. in: SRH 1, pp. 483-484; *Johannes de Thurocz*

Domestic sources also preserved descriptions of ceremonial entries of Hungarian kings from before or shortly after their coronation. According to these reports we can assume that the core of the ritual had been observed unchanged in the major cities of the realm, just as in small provincial towns. One of the treasures of fifteenth-century literary production is an eyewitness account by the aforementioned Helene Kottanner. Her work was written in German, but it reflects the birth, election, and coronation of the new Hungarian king Ladislas V Posthumous (1440-1457). In her account we are able to trace numerous ceremonial performances. Kottanner gave a rich illustration of how the people of Alba Regia had welcomed the infant ruler on 14 May 1440. More than 500 riders led by voivode Nicolas of Hlohovec (Freistadt) emerged from the city walls to greet the king and his entourage. Helene was carrying the child in her hands and brought him into the city, where the warriors descended from their horses and stood around them in a circle. In this manner they went through the city in a solemn procession so that all the inhabitants might greet the king. All the prominent burghers were then granted access to visit the young ruler, his mother, Queen Elisabeth, and the Holy Crown, which was in their possession.[101]

After the coronation, the queen and her son Ladislas had to flee Alba in fear of Vladislas Jagiellon, who had in the meantime been crowned king by a different fraction of the nobility.[102] On their way they passed through the villages and cities on the Hungarian-Austrian border. In Neusider, bells were ringing upon their arrival. The inhabitants came outside the walls in a ceremonial procession carrying the Eucharist, with virgins marching in front, and in so doing, as Kottanner interprets it herself, they expressed their fidelity to their natural ruler. The same scenario was repeated in the nearby town of Sopron.[103]

The second type of royal entry was reserved for an *adventus* made into a city which the king had already visited before. This type could serve to reestablish the ruler's authority, to express the town's loyalty, or to demonstrate and seal a political alliance and partnership. In many cases it was a purely formal and symbolic festivity to demonstrate the king's majesty. It could, however, acquire major importance in cases of conflicts between a ruler and his towns. After the settlement of a dispute the rebellious (and in most cases also

*Chronica Hungarorum*, c. 191-193, pp. 196-201).

[101] *The Memoirs of Helene Kottanner*, p. 42.

[102] For historical circumstances see ENGEL, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, pp. 280-281.

[103] *The Memoirs of Helene Kottanner*, p. 52.

defeated) city had to express in a ritual manner its penance and reacceptance of the authority of its natural lord. This type of *adventus* could evolve into a great humiliation of the city, and great satisfaction for the ruler.[104] One of the oldest references to this procedure comes from the eleventh century.[105]

Finally, the third type involved the ceremonial entries and ceremonies of welcome of important foreign rulers during their visit. We can trace these either to the welcoming of foreign kings to Hungary (Vladislas II of Poland's entry to Buda in 1412),[106] or in ritual entries of Hungarian kings to towns in neighbouring states (the Hungarian king Stephen V's (1270-1272) *adventus* in the Polish city of Cracow in 1270).[107] Perhaps the most ceremonious *adventus*, adorned with pageantry, was prepared in the year 1476, when King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490), influenced by the Renaissance and humanism, welcomed his future bride, Princess Beatrice of Aragon, in Alba Regia. According to contemporary witnesses, more than 3000 people took part in this grandiose festivity (which was described in the memoirs of Peter Eschenloer and by Hans Seybolt).[108]

A sort of inverted ritual can be observed in the solemn departure of the king from a city. The ritual, called *profectio*,[109] was as old as its counterpart, the *adventus*, but contemporary chroniclers never paid much attention to it. One detailed depiction of this occasion dates from the last year of the reign (1436/1437) of the Hungarian and Bohemian king and emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg during his departure from Prague to Hungary. In his full majesty, sitting on his throne, he was solemnly carried through the city streets and this publicly demonstrated that he never stopped considering himself to be the legitimate monarch of the Czech lands. According to one source (Johannes Thurocz), this ceremonial event left a strong impact on the – in majority Hussite – townspeople, unaccustomed to such pageantry.[110]

[104] BROWN and SMALL, *Court and Civic Society*, p. 25,

[105] The Composition of Hungarian chronicles from the fourteenth century describes the submission of Belgrade (Beograd) to king Salomon I (1063-1074) and count Geza with his brother Ladislas. See *Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*, c. 109, ed. in: SRH 1, pp. 374-375.

[106] *Joannis Dlugossii Historiae Polonicae*, Liber XI, ed. ŻEGOTA, 4, pp. 130-133, 140-141.

[107] *Joannis Dlugossii Historiae Polonicae*, Liber VII, ed. ŻEGOTA, pp. 416-417.

[108] See V. HONEMANN, "The marriage of Matthias Corvinus to Beatrice of Aragón (1476) in urban and court historiography", in: *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650*, ed. M. GOSMAN *et al*.(Leiden and Boston, 2005), pp. 213-226.

[109] KANTOROWICZ, "The 'King's Advent'", pp. 219-220.

[110] "*Cras enim barba et crinibus meis coadunatis caniciem capitis mei crinali adornate, locantesque me imperiali in sede simulque in feretro me ponite, et mediam per civitatem una*

*The Medieval Town as a Stage for Political Rituals*

Rituals frequently served to demonstrate authority or to confirm the legitimacy of a reign. In the medieval kingdom of Hungary a specific ritual demonstration appeared in connection with the almighty and omnipresent Holy Crown. There is not enough space to discuss the importance and meaning of possessing the Holy Crown for a pretender to the throne. In short, no one could be considered to be the legitimate king of Hungary if he was not crowned by the Holy Crown.[111]

On at least on two occasions we have evidence of the use of this ritual in medieval towns by Hungarian kings. The first one is in connection with Duke Otto of Bavaria, whose short reign as king (or rather anti-king) of Hungary had to be legitimised by ceremonial and symbolic performance. In 1305, after his unction and coronation in the Alba Regia cathedral, he went to the city of Buda. Here, in full majesty, he placed the Holy Crown on his head, and accompanied by his numerous entourage, rode on his horse through every street and square of Buda to publicly demonstrate to the citizens that he was the legitimate king:

*mecum transuentes me et vos e medio illorum, qui vestrum siciunt sanguinem ... ..Et, cum senex princeps veneranda canitie tumque florido adornatus crinali mediam per civitatem ferebatur, undique sexus utriusque iuvenum senumque fit concursus, et lachrymantibus intuentes eum luminibus, quasi illum amplius non visuri, genuum curvatione pariterque et iocundo salutationis oraculo eum venerabantur. Ille circumquaque oculis intuitu depastis eisdem imperialis tantummodo capitis inclinatione respondebat*" (*Johannes de Thurocz Chronica Hungarorum*, c. 219, p. 231).

[111] Symptomatic are the words of the count palatine Michael Orság in 1471: "... whoever you may see crowned with the Holy Crown, even if it was an ox, worship him, consider him to be the Saint King and respect him" ("... *quemcumque sacra Corona coronatum videris, etiam si bos fuerit, adorato, et pro sacrosancto rege ducito, et observato*") (*Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum decades Libri XLV*, ed. D.C. ANDREAS BEL (Leipzig, 1771), decadis IV, liber III, p. 577); for the importance of Holy Crown of Hungary see, e.g. J. DEÉR, *Die Heilige Krone Ungarns* (Vienna, 1966); I. BERTÉNYI, *A magyar korona története* [History of the Hungarian Crown] (Budapest, 1978). There were three fundamental conditions which needed to be fulfilled if one wanted to be considered the legitimate ruler of the Hungarians: to be crowned with the Holy Crown, as well as by the Archbishop of Esztergom, and that the ceremony had to be undertaken in Alba Regia. All these rules together were mentioned for the first time by Helene Kottanner. See *The Memoirs of Helene Kottanner*, p. 43.

> *Inde Budam veniens et in die sollempni in decoro regio, coronam sanctam habens in capite, per omnes plateas et vicos incedebat eques cum populo copioso, ut cunctis se esse regem legittimum publicaret.*[112]

The same scenario was repeated in 1403, when King Sigismund of Luxembourg faced a revolt of magnates in conjunction with claims to the throne of King Ladislas of Naples. After King Sigismund was freed from captivity he went to the castle and town of Visegrád. In a public place in front of the gathered townspeople and his escort, he placed the Holy Crown on his head and thus demonstrated his legitimate right to the Hungarian throne :

> *... coronam nostram sacram vidimus et congregato ibidem universo populo, capiti nostro imposuimus*.[113]

Every time a (Hungarian) king entered a city, his visit was accompanied by various types of festivities. Splendid meetings of monarchs;[114] wasteful banquets;[115] passionate tournaments and games;[116] royal weddings, baptisms, coronations and funerals;[117] religious processions; knightings; and feasts and festivities of all kinds[118] are easily shown to have been present in the lives of medieval Hungarian townspeople. The best example of all happened at the very last gasp of the Middle Ages in Hungary, in the year 1515. An event without precedent took place in the towns of Bratislava and nearby Vienna. The meeting of three monarchs, prolonged negotiations, and, finally, a ceremonious double wedding were the perfect occasions for weeks of ceaseless festivities, dramatic spectacles, honorific entries into cities, the symbolic exchange of prestigious gifts, tournaments and games of all kinds. Thanks to the well-preserved descriptions of these events (in Riccardo Bartolini's *Hodoeporicon*) we have a

[112] *Chron. Hung. Comp. Saec. XIV*, c. 191, ed. in: SRH 1, p. 483.

[113] Letter dated 30.9.1403; *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár,* 11 vols., ed. E. MÁLYUSZ *et al.* (Budapest, 1951-2009), 2.1 No. 2636; See also DVOŘÁKOVÁ, *Rytier a jeho kráľ*, p. 88.

[114] *Johannes de Thurocz Chronica Hungarorum*, c. 126, p. 153; See also *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, ed. in: *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, ed. J. EMLER, 4 vols. (Prague, 1873-1884), 4, p. 331.

[115] KUBINYI, "Alltag und Fest am ungarischen Königshof", pp. 212-213.

[116] *Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum decades*, decadis V, liber IV, p. 736; *Joannis Dlugossii Historiae Polonicae*, ed. ŻEGOTA, 4, pp. 140-141.

[117] *Johannes de Thurocz Chronica Hungarorum*, c. 128, pp. 154-159; *Joannis Dlugossii Historiae Polonicae*, ed. ŻEGOTA, 4, pp. 644ff.; *The Memoirs of Helene Kottanner*, pp. 42-44.

[118] *Chron. Hung. Comp. Saec. XIV*, c. 212, ed. in: SRH 1, p. 504; KUBINYI, "Alltag und Fest am ungarischen Königshof", p. 214.

lively picture of urban rituals mixed with royal ideology as expressed in these public performances at the turn of the late medieval and early modern eras.[119]

From the sixteenth century onwards the situation changes dramatically in every way. The considerable spread of literacy in addition to the growth in written sources allows historians to explore urban rituals in the early modern era in more detail. For example, we have various detailed descriptions of urban festivities during the coronations of Hungarian kings in Bratislava after the tragic battle of Mohács in 1526.[120]

## *Conclusions*

This study has been an attempt to outline the current state of affairs in the field of medieval ritual communication in East Central Europe and describe the possibilities for further research. The researched source material and historiographic production focused on late medieval towns in the Kingdom of Hungary. Thematically, we have tried to observe the mutual development and influences of urban literacy (with a strong emphasis on its multilingual character) and urban rituals, and their respective functions in contemporary society. Besides the oral and written forms studied traditionally, we have tried to trace symbolic or ritual communication, expressed in various rituals and gestures.

As we have seen in the previous pages, the churches, streets, and marketplaces of towns were ideal places for rulers to make known their dispatches; to present and re-establish their sacral authority over the community; and to communicate with the citizens through symbolic and non-verbal behaviour. A specific form of communication between the ruler and his city could be established. The reciprocity of these rituals can be traced throughout contemporary sources.[121] To be able to cast more light on their use and function for medieval Hungarian society, future detailed investigation of the extant sources of urban

[119] See FRIMMOVÁ, "Kráľovské stretnutia v Bratislave", pp. 100-107.

[120] Bratislava was the coronation city of Kingdom of Hungary for almost 300 years. Ten kings and one queen were crowned there. See Š. HOLČÍK, *Korunovačné slávnosti: Bratislava 1563-1830* [Coronation festivities: Bratislava 1563-1830] (Bratislava, 2005). For the medieval coronations the best volume is still E. BARTONIEK, *A magyar királykoronázások története* [History of Hungarian royal coronations] (Budapest, 1938).

[121] For the reciprocity and mutual influences of urban and monarchic rituals see *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, pp. XI-XII, XVI; ARNADE, "City, state, and public ritual", pp. 308-311; *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, p. XVII.

literacy, such as diplomatic documents, pictorial depictions, and accounts in narrative sources, is needed.

In the course of this research we have witnessed several occasions for using written documents in ritualised procedures on the one hand, and on the other hand examples of records of rituals in written documents. It is evident from the gathered source material that the spread of literacy and its more frequent use in the later Middle Ages did not threaten the use and prevalence of ritualised behaviour. On the contrary, written, oral, and symbolic (ritualised) communication acted simultaneously, together constituting the communication of late medieval Europe as a whole.

# Drama and Urban Literacy: Recording and Documenting the Performance in the Southern Low Countries (Fifteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)

KATELL LAVÉANT

## *Introduction*

As has been pointed out in studies on medieval urban literacy over the last three decennia, one obvious element to examine when addressing the topic is to study a specific range of records as well as their context of production. In this respect, the archival evidence that helps in documenting theatrical performances is particularly interesting to take into account. The region I will focus on in the present contribution covers the French-speaking southern Low Countries, today the north of France and the south of Belgium. As is well known, this region was one of the most urbanised in Europe from an early point in the Middle Ages. In all these cities, of which Lille and Tournai are but two examples, a wealth of archival material was produced. This is especially true for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a period during which both the production of archives and the organisation of theatrical performances increased significantly. Even if there are gaps in the archives, scholars working

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 375-387.

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on any topic related to this region and this period usually have to deal with enormous amounts of archival material, manuscripts, and even printed matter; this observation is valid when one studies the theatre as well.

I will try to establish which sources can be used when studying the links between drama and the notion of urban literacy in the context just mentioned. Indeed, while a substantial amount of the elements related to practical and institutional matters, as well as to literary texts, were being written down in the Middle Ages, the written aspects of theatre remain problematic, given the specific links between this activity and orality, and the possible (and largely immeasurable) gap between the text uttered during the performance and its state when transformed to be recorded in manuscript or print. The problems posed by the sources used to document these aspects therefore need to be examined, especially in the case of a dramatic culture that left many records of its activities, but only a limited amount of the dramatic texts that were performed.

Groups performing drama played a central role in the cultural life of the towns of the region. Their variety, from joyful companies and guilds to occasionally or professional groups of actors, also means a vast range of records that allow us today to reconstruct their activities.[1] I would like to present these different types of records, from institutional written records to pragmatic literacy. A number of these sources are problematic when we try to evaluate the meaning of the notion of literacy for the actors and the public of this theatrical culture. I will present and analyse the different sources and deal with a few interesting cases in order to answer these two questions: how can the study of medieval drama contribute to our understanding of the phenomenon of urban literacy in the late Middle Ages? And what does our current understanding of these sources reveal about the level and the nature of literacy of the actors and the public of these performances?

Many of the elements I will evoke are also being studied by a number of scholars currently working on drama in French. Therefore, in addition to using the archival documents I studied in my own research, I will point out the results of other studies by scholars who also insist on the importance of not only working on theatre plays as literary texts, but on the archives that document the performance aspects as well. Thus, the conclusions presented here will be derived from the study of a specific cluster of texts and theatrical performances, but may also give a first impression of more general patterns regarding

[1] I have studied these groups in K. LAVÉANT, *Un théâtre des frontières: La culture dramatique dans les provinces du Nord aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles)* (Orléans, 2011: *Medievalia* 76).

theatrical activities in various French and French-speaking areas in the late Middle Ages.

## *Drama and the Sources: Recording and Keeping Track of the Performance*

When studying the theatrical culture of the French-speaking towns in the Southern Netherlands, it is necessary to take into account both the historical and the literary sources. As for the historical sources, we can find details concerning theatre in various documents among three types of sources:

1. Normative sources, that is to say the documents concerning laws, rules and regulations at governmental level, and internal regulations for brotherhoods or other associations. In this category, however, one finds only a few documents. We mostly have regulations promulgated by the governors of the Low Countries in the sixteenth century in order to fight the propagation of Reformation ideas, and published in placards. They tend to limit the possibilities of performing plays, although most of them consider theatrical texts rather than performances, and therefore include theatre as part of the larger category of printed literary texts subject to censorship. This may explain why there are very few general regulations that specifically deal with theatre from the point of view of the performative activity. Moreover, we do not possess internal sources such as statutes of associations that could reveal how various theatrical groups organised their own activities. This unfortunately prevents us from knowing precisely how these groups functioned.

2. Documents of practice that show how decisions were made and applied at a local level, and how institutions functioned on a daily basis. In this category, we find many documents that help us to precisely locate the theatrical activities in the towns of the region, of which we can list here the most useful types:

- Town archives, particularly the books of accounts and the deliberations of the aldermen. Thanks to these records, we can see that some groups were allowed to perform plays by the local authorities, and that their performances could be financed by the municipality, which proves their involvement in the public life of the cities.
- Judicial archives, which offer interesting information on problematic performances that contravened regulations and therefore led to enquiries and sometimes prosecu-

tions. In this case, one finds accounts giving more or less accurate descriptions of the content of the plays, details about the actors, and even at times the reactions of the audience to the performance.[2]

- Contracts that actors could sign in order to organise their representation for a given time (not to be mistaken for long-term statutes), informing us how some groups functioned as commercial associations that derived a profit from their theatrical activities.[3]

3. The narrative sources, that is to say chronicles, diaries, and local histories written by the bourgeois of these towns, as well as the accounts of joyful entries, which were often written down and kept in the archives of the town, or, in the sixteenth century, even printed for a larger public. In these texts we mostly find descriptions of the performances and *tableaux vivants* insisting on the symbolic meaning of these spectacles, but they lack details concerning the actors and the material aspects of the performance.

To sum up very briefly, we can see that most of these sources are external to the theatrical groups. On the one hand, this means that very often, while they offer many details on the way theatrical culture functioned as a whole, they give only a limited view on the subject of literacy among the theatrical groups themselves. On the other hand, their existence proves that in this late medieval urban society it was considered essential to keep track of these performances in various written records, either on an institutional level, by duly registering these activities in different municipal archives, or on an individual level, when bourgeois wrote about this phenomenon in their diary or in a local history.

Obviously, in the case of drama, we also have to take into account another kind of source, namely the literary sources, in this case the texts of plays (whether we know if they were actually performed or not). There are still a great many of them to be found in manuscript and in early printed editions, but, as mentioned earlier, we have to remember that they represent only a very small part of all the texts that were performed at the time, given the incredibly

[2] I have studied two of these cases from two judicial enquiries about performances organised in the middle of the sixteenth century: K. LAVÉANT, "Le théâtre du Nord et la Réforme: Un procès d'acteurs dans la région de Lille en 1563", *European Medieval Drama* 11 (2007), pp. 59-77; EAD., "Le théâtre et la Réforme dans les villes francophones des Pays-Bas Méridionaux", in: *Le théâtre polémique français (1450-1550)*, ed. M. BOUHAÏK-GIRONÈS, J. KOOPMANS, and K. LAVÉANT (Rennes, 2008), pp. 161-177.

[3] M. BOUHAÏK-GIRONÈS and K. LAVÉANT, "Les contrats d'acteur à la fin du Moyen Âge", in: *L'acteur et l'accessoire: Mélanges en l'honneur de Michel Rousse*, ed. M. BOUHAÏK-GIRONÈS, D. HÜE, and J. KOOPMANS (Paris, 2011), pp. 301-318.

high number of performances that are evoked, often quite dryly, by the local archives and in particular in books of accounts. First, we find a remarkably broad range of manuscripts. Scholars have established a whole typology of theatre manuscripts.[4] They consider several states of the text and its paratext. At one end of the spectrum, some manuscripts display a text annotated for a performance, or even only roles of actors disconnected from the play as a whole (the *rolet* contains only the lines of one role, with an indication of where this text is placed in the play). Alternatively, such a 'working document' can be an overview of all the roles in a play, with only the indication of the beginning and the end of the text of each role in the dialogues; this indicates that it was used by the director (the *meneur de jeu*).[5] At the other end of the spectrum, we have the richly decorated manuscripts containing the text of a play, often religious or moral in nature. These manuscripts were typically made to be read rather than to organise a new performance. Secondly, we have collections of plays or independent texts of plays printed from the end of the fifteenth century onwards. However, it was customary for a printer to erase details relative to the performance or linguistic regionalisms from the text, so that the play could be read by a large public. It is therefore very difficult to analyse these printed plays in order to get information on the context in which they were produced.

I would now like to reflect on what these sources, historical or literary, reveal about the conception of drama in regard to the literate mentality. In other words, what can we infer from the strategies of conservation of documents displaying information about theatrical performances, as well as of some dramatic texts?

When we consider the historical sources dealing with theatre, we can underline two aspects.

1. The official records, such as account books or judicial archives, deal not with theatre itself, but with its significance for public life or in public matters. The books of accounts retain traces of the performance when, at some point, money was given to prepare a staging or as a gift to the actors, or when the aldermen were asked to deliberate whether an authorisation was needed to

[4] G.A. RUNNALLS, "Toward a typology of medieval French plays manuscripts", in: *The Editor and the Text: Mélanges Anthony J. Holden*, ed. P.E. BENNETT and G.A. RUNNALLS (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 96-113; D. SMITH, "Les manuscrits 'de théâtre': Introduction codicologique à des manuscrits qui n'existent pas", *Gazette du livre médiéval* 33 (1998), pp. 1-10.

[5] The most famous example of such a working document has been edited by G. COHEN, *Le Livre de conduite du régisseur et le compte des dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501* (Strasbourg, 1925).

perform a play (mostly when the play had a religious content). One can say that theatre then acquires an official status, when the authorisations and especially the subventions given by the municipality transform the performance into an event with a public significance. This is shown by the formula accompanying the sums given to the actors or organisers: the performance is organised "for the honour of the city". Alternatively, these archival sources record information when performances need to be controlled so as not to disrupt public order. This was the case in the sixteenth century, for instance, when travelling companies of actors from outside the region wished to perform plays from their repertoire for a few days in the city. Judicial records also dealt with this last aspect of drama, especially in the sixteenth century, when plays were suspected to support the propagation of Reformation ideas.

2. Other sources, such as the diaries of individuals, record information about performances of festivities, single plays or joyful entries, as do the accounts of joyful entries in municipal archives, from a memorial perspective: that is to say, to remember the performance as such or, more often, as part of an important ceremony. This aspect is reinforced and linked to the honour of the city, once again, when such accounts of joyful entries were not only kept in the archives of a town, but were also printed in order to be offered to a large public of readers. Such is the case of the joyful entry of the emperor Charles V in Valenciennes in 1540. A few weeks after the entry had taken place, the account was printed not in the region, but in one of the big centres of printing: Rouen. A prologue explains why the text has been printed:

> Because all ancient and modern historiographers, orators and rhetoricians have the habit of writing and having printed all the events happening in their time that are worthy of praise and memory, in order to give spirit and courage to their posterity and successors so that they act and progress better and follow the memory and acts of their ancestors in everything, it seemed to me that it was suitable to write and have printed this little text ...[6]

[6] "*Pour cause que tous hystoriographes, orateurs et rethoriciens anciens et modernes ont accoustumé mettre par escript et faire imprimer toutes nouvelles advenues en leurs temps dignes de louenge et memoire, affin de animer et bailler couraige a la posterité et successeurs de proceder et cheminer de mieulx en mieulx et de [suivre] en future les vestiges et marches de leurs progeniteurs en tout, bien me assemblé estre convenable mettre par escript et faire imprimer ce petit codicille*" (*La triumphante et manificque Entree de lempereur Charles tousjours auguste, cinquiesme de ce nom, accompaigne de messeigneurs le daulphin de France et duc Dorléans en sa ville de Valentiennes*, printed by Jehan Lhomme in Rouen, 1539 (old style)).

Here the anonymous writer considers the value of the account for the descendants of the people who saw the spectacle. We can also infer that the choice to print the text in order to spread it, instead of just recording it in the archives of the city, is significant. This can derive from financial motives (if the text is printed, there is a potential market of people who have seen the entry and want to remember it, or who have not seen it and want to learn more about it), or from strategic motives of the city (if the decision to print the account came from the magistrate of Valenciennes), since the memory of the entry, spread by print beyond the borders of the region of Valenciennes, also enhances the importance and pomp of the ceremonies of the town. In any case, it is crucial to see that in this instance the fact of recording the event by writing it down and even printing it is considered essential, since it is this act that underlines the exemplariness of the event.

When we deal with literary sources, and especially with texts of plays that have been kept, we have to remember that theatrical texts, as performed by different kinds of groups, were not necessarily considered as worthy of being preserved. This is evident when one considers the comic plays performed by joyful companies during annual feasts, considered essential for the public life of the town. In the region studied here, textual evidence of this type of play has not survived. If it was at some point written down, the text was apparently not considered as worthy of being preserved among the public records, nor do we find any private records that retained it. The discrepancy between the public importance of these festivities and the absence of any trace of the plays that were performed is striking. This does not mean that there are no records of such plays at all for the French-speaking regions, but they have to be sought for in Normandy or in Paris, and they are very few. Most of the comic plays that have survived are in fact farces that were printed in order to be read, and that are therefore devoid of any traces linking them to specific joyful companies, as explained above.

The traces we find about these joyful companies in the French-speaking Southern Low Countries are, again, mostly linked to the importance of the festivities for the town, with numerous mentions in the account books that show that the joyful companies were given some compensation for their activities. We also have a few accounts preserved in the archives that retell the parade of joyful groups from inside and outside the town.[7] They are very specific

[7] One account of the '*Fête de Plaisance*' in Valenciennes in 1547 is edited by F. Brassart, "Fêtes populaires au XVIe siècle dans les villes du nord de la France et particulièrement à

about the appearance of the companies, as they were an occasion for the participants to richly exhibit their costumes, and they insist on the ceremonial and ritual aspects of the parade, but they give almost no details about their theatrical activities.

Two other examples of the conservation of profane, moral plays are interesting. The first concerns two plays performed at the religious and literary association of the Puy of Amiens in 1472-1473. They have been preserved because they were collected along with other documents to make a 'souvenir album' for the Master of the Puy of that year. Once again, the plays were kept for their memorial value rather than for their literary content.[8] The second example is that of a single play that was found in the ecclesiastical archives of Lille. This *Jeu du Grand Dominé et du Petit* is a morality play preserved without elements indicating either its origin or its date of composition. One possible explanation is, that the text of the play was written down in order to be studied by a 'censorship committee' at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as its content deals with religious reform or can even be linked to the ideas of the Reformation, if one dates the play from the beginning of the sixteenth century.[9]

As for religious plays, they were more likely to be retained, but again the manuscripts were frequently made for a user that would read the text of the plays as any other literary text. That is the case of some Passion plays such as the *Passion de Valenciennes* of 1549,[10] or of the plays of the Procession of Lille.[11] These last plays were kept in a decorated manuscript that was likely made as a witness to the event, since separated plays, probably performed over a few years during the contest organised in parallel to the procession, are here collected in a book that is also decorated with paintings.

This does not mean that all religious plays were preserved with these intentions: it is likely that some texts were kept to be re-used later, for instance

Valenciennes", *Souvenirs de la Flandre-Wallonne* 11 (1871), pp. 46-74.

[8] K. LAVÉANT, "Personal expression of a playwright or public discourse of a confraternity? A performance at the Puy de Notre-Dame in Amiens in 1473", in: *Drama, Performance and Debate: Theatre and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Period*, ed. J. BLOEMENDAL *et al.* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 19-33.

[9] A. HINDLEY and G. SMALL, "Le *Ju du Grand Dominé et du Petit*: Une moralité tournaisienne inédite (fin XV^e^-début XVI^e^ siècle)", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 80.2 (2002), pp. 413-456

[10] E. KONIGSON, *La représentation d'un mystère de la Passion à Valenciennes en 1547* (Paris, 1969).

[11] *Les mystères de la procession de Lille*, ed. A.E. KNIGHT, 5 vols. (Geneva, 2001-2011).

because the municipality investing a sum in order to have the text written down may have considered the text as an investment for the future. This is probably the reason why the text of the Passion play performed at Amiens in 1500 was kept by the town that had paid several scribes to write it down. It was lent to the city of Mons, so that this city could copy the play and adapt it for its own performance in 1501.[12]

A last type of theatre manuscripts, the texts annotated for a performance or the roles of actors, must be studied in another perspective, i.e. that of the question of literacy linked to the theatrical culture and its actors.

## *Urban Literacy and Dramatic Culture*

According to the kind of material that contains the text of a play or details about a performance, we can derive a number of indications about the level of literacy of the actors of a play as well as of the audience of a performance. Two important questions therefore are: what was the level of literacy of the actors, and of the public?

As for the level of literacy of the actors, one has to wonder to what extent they were able to read (let alone write) in learning their text. The question might seem superfluous, as one could think that an actor needs to be able to read in order to learn his role. Indeed, the manuscripts showing roles of actors support this idea. However, it is not such an easy question to answer. One has to remember that there are as many kinds of actors as of plays: bourgeois of a city organising the performance of a Passion play, members of a joyful company preparing annual festivities with plays meant to be performed during a contest, actors from various social backgrounds signing a contract with each other to form an association so that they can derive a salary from their performances, members of the Church at various levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or other sorts of professionals, such as the Law clerks of the Basoche of Paris.[13] While some obviously had a basic education allowing them to read and write, such as the merchants, or even an education at academic level, such as

[12] G.A. Runnalls, "La Passion de Mons (1501): Étude sur le texte et sur ses rapports avec la Passion d'Amiens (1500)", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 80.4 (2002), pp. 1143-1188. This article combines the study of the text of the play with a reconstruction of the exchange of texts between Amiens and Mons, using the account books of both cities.

[13] For these various categories of actors, see the references cited *supra*, and M. Bouhaïk-Gironès, *Les clercs de la Basoche et le théâtre politique (Paris, 1420-1550)* (Paris, 2007).

the members of the clergy and the clerks, we have to ask ourselves to what extent actors coming from lower layers of society could be literate.

We have a law case from Dijon in 1447, in which craftsmen are accused of having performed a problematic farce during a *mystère*, because the play evoked some political problems between the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy at a time when the authorities wanted to preserve a fragile peace in the region. The actors all declared that they could not see from their role that the play was problematic, thus implying that they had learnt their role without reading the whole play first. The man who organised the performance, a craftsman in textiles, also declared that, although he had bought the text of a play when seeing a performance of it two years earlier, he had not been able to find problems in the text, because he was not a clerk and could not read much (as underlined in his testimony, saying: "*il sait tres peu lire*").[14]

Is this excuse realistic? Specialists of theatre tend to think that this was only a defence strategy used in order to avoid getting into trouble with justice. This is quite obvious in the case of rhetoricians of Brussels who used the same excuse in 1559 when they were accused of having performed plays that contained religious criticism.[15] Still, the question remains to what extent actors, and in particular the craftsmen who may not have benefited from a basic education, needed to be literate and to rely on written texts to learn a role by heart and perform it well – all the more since they appear at the end of a long dramatic tradition in which, we can infer, actors were primarily trained orally?

Another problematic question is that of the level of literacy of the audience of a play. One might again think that this is only a secondary problem, as it is not necessary to be literate to follow a visual spectacle. This may be true for a number of performances. However, there is at least one type of spectacle that does imply a certain ability of the audience to read texts: the joyful entries using *tableaux vivants*. In 1549, Charles V and the prospective Philip II of Spain entered Tournai, the emperor travelling in the Low Countries as part of a process of transferring power to his son. This entry is described in three different sources, all likely deriving their text from a common source: an account in the municipal archives; the diary kept by a bourgeois of the city, Pasquier de le Barre; and a Spanish writer, Calvete de Estrella, who followed the court.[16]

[14] M. BOUHAÏK-GIRONÈS, "Le procès des farceurs de Dijon (1447)", *European Medieval Drama* 7 (2003), pp. 117-134.

[15] A.-L. VAN BRUAENE, *Om beters wille: Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400-1650*) (Amsterdam, 2008), pp. 115-118.

[16] J.C. CALVETE DE ESTRALLA, *El Felicissimo viaie d'el muy alto y muy poderoso Principe*

Several stages were presented to the princes, under the form of arches of triumph and *tableaux vivants* with a complex setting, presenting several stories and characters simultaneously. Some of the *tableaux vivants* were composed of two stages, presenting both a biblical story and an episode of the life of Charles V to compare the second to the first, thus giving a religious meaning to the deeds of the emperor. The significance of these *tableaux* was explained by panels containing poems in French or Latin. Two of these compositions, mixing text and image, are described in detail by Pasquier de le Barre. One is a comparison of the lives of David and of Charles V, flanked by two ditties explaining in twelve lines each the content of the biblical story and the episode of Charles V's life. When giving the content of these ditties, the account specifies that the panels were made "to give to the people the meaning of the said story".[17] Another construction is an arch on which a stage shows how David crowns his son Solomon, and how Charles also bestows the power on his son. Two quatrains, one in Latin and one in French, explain the meaning of the *tableaux vivants*, and two ditties, again in twelve lines, reiterate the explanation "in order to let the common people have a better understanding of the story".[18]

According to the text, the long stanzas are written as additional explanations for the common people, and not for the princes. We can accept this if we consider that the people would indeed stand next to the stage and have time to read the stanzas, while the princes would pass by and may not have the time to do so. But this implies that the "common public", as designated by Pasquier, was literate enough to be able to read the ditties – or at least that some of the people could read them aloud for the other spectators. This may well have been the case, as recent research suggests that the level of literacy in the region at

*Don Phelippe, hijo d'el Emperador Don Carlos Quinto Maximo, desde España à sus tierras dela baxa Alemaña: Con la descripcion de todos los Estados de Brabante y Flandes escrito en quatro libros* (Antwerp, printed by Marten Nuyts, 1555), trans. J. PETIT, *Le très-heureux voyage fait par le très-haut et très-puissant prince Don Philippe, fils du grand empereur Charles-Quint depuis l'Espagne jusqu'à ses domaines de la Basse-Allemagne avec la description de tous les états de Brabant et de Flandre, écrit en quatre livres*, 5 vols. (Brussels, 1873-1884); P. DE LE BARRE, *Journal*, ed. G. MOREAU, *Le journal d'un bourgeois de Tournai: Le second livre des chroniques de Pasquier de le Barre (1500-1565*) (Brussels, 1975).

[17] "*Pour donner au peuple l'intelligence de ladicte histoire*" (P. de le Barre, *Journal*, p. 339).

[18] "*Pour mieulx donner l'histoire à entendre au commun populaire*" (P. DE LE BARRE, *Journal*, p. 349).

the end of the Middle Ages has been largely underestimated.[19] In any case, it shows that the written text also has its place in a theatrical performance, even with an explanatory one in a situation as this, as if the images created in the *tableaux vivants* were not clear enough to be understood without a written note – perhaps because they referred to very specific events in the life of Charles V and biblical references. Such an example may lead us to reconsider the level of literacy of the mixed audience of a public performance.

## *Conclusion*

We have shown briefly that there are two essential aspects for the study of the importance of urban literacy in the organisation of dramatic performances in the French-speaking Low Countries at the end of the Middle Ages. On the one hand, literacy was the key to recording and keeping traces of the spectacles presented in the cities of the region. Perhaps surprisingly, this drama has survived not through manuscripts or printed versions of its texts, but by records around the circumstances of the performance, from the authorisation delivered by the municipal authorities to the payment of the actors and other professionals involved in the staging of a play. Urban archives are an irreplaceable source to describe a theatrical culture, and the lack of archival records for its countryside counterpart prevents us from knowing much about the groups involved in theatrical activities outside the towns. Although this conclusion about the lack of sources concerning the villages seems obvious, one must, for instance, recall that a great deal of speculation took place among scholars in the 1970s as to whether or not the urban joyful companies found their origin in the rural *abbayes de jeunesse*, and to what extent both groups differed from each other.[20] Although research on the joyful companies in the past ten years has unearthed a wealth of new material in the archives, it is still very difficult to address the question of these 'youth abbeys' with the same certainty, given the lack of available sources.

On the other hand, we have seen that the question of the level of literacy among actors and spectators is far from being secondary, as it has conse-

[19] A. DERVILLE, "L'alphabétisation du peuple à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Revue du Nord* 66 (1984), pp. 761-776.

[20] See for instance R. MUCHEMBLED, "Des conduites de bruit au spectacle des processions. Mutations mentales et déclin des fêtes populaires dans le Nord de la France (XV-XVI siècles)", in: *Le Charivari*, ed. J. LE GOFF and J.-C. SCHMITT (Paris, 1981), pp. 229-236.

quences for the understanding of the stage when texts are used as an important element of the spectacle, or even as the medium that allows the audience to decipher the allusions and references depicted in *tableaux vivants*. Actors even knew that literacy was a key element in their defence when they were accused of staging a scandalous play. By pretending that they could not read and understand the whole text of a play, some of them underlined that literacy was not necessarily obvious and necessary in their long line of oral tradition. We know, however, that this can be disputed, as literacy was certainly an essential notion to fully understand the position and importance of theatre in and for the late medieval town.

# Texts on Public Display: Strategies of Visualising Epigraphic Writing in Late Medieval Austrian Towns*

ANDREAS ZAJIC

The 1626 edition of aphoristic texts by Julius Wilhelm Zincgref, *Scharpfsinnige kluge Sprüch*,[1] contains a text about the surrender of a church in a German free imperial city, which had formerly been used by the Protestants of the city, to a monastic convent during the Thirty Years' War. The monks wanted a painter to make the Lutheran Bible verses, written all over the walls of the church, disappear, but the man pretended to be unable to do so: it would be necessary to destroy the inscriptions using a chisel. When they asked a mason for the price of that work, he told them he would take one *Reichstaler* per line. The monks, puzzled about the high amount, answered that it was an easy job that should be done in only a short time, but the mason replied, "no,

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[1] On the baroque prose genre of the *inscriptio arguta* see T. NEUKIRCHEN, *Inscriptio: Rhetorik und Poetik der Scharfsinnigen Inschrift im Zeitalter des Barock* (Tübingen, 1999).

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you are wrong – it is hard work to destroy the words of God and preparing adequately high scaffolds I risk breaking my neck over it".[2]

Apart from the specific confessional context, the story exemplifies an aspect vital to some central questions of the following contribution: the visualisation of (epigraphic) writing in public space depends on several complex parameters and varies widely in its results according to the intention of those who conceived them. Claiming that in large part inscriptions were media intended to draw the attention of readers, we may propose that the execution of a text carved in stone, painted on walls, or woven into textiles required consideration of (apart from the content of course) a) where to place the text, and b) how to write it (i.e. in which palaeographic forms the text should be executed). Thus the accessibility, visibility, and legibility of inscriptions are important features of inscriptions, revealing some strategies of their presentation and visualisation. By presenting several inscriptions from late medieval Austrian[3] towns and discussing the context of their specific placement as well as textual and palaeographic criteria we shall try to make this evident.

Space as a category of interpretation in the humanities, and especially in historiography, has become quite popular over the last two decades in German-speaking countries, a phenomenon most frequently referred to as the 'spatial turn' in historiography, a theoretical approach which interestingly seems to lack comparable attention in English-speaking[4] or francophone countries

[2] "*Als etlich Ordensleut in einer Reichsstatt ein Evangelische Kirch eingeraumt ward / in deren an den Wänden hin vnd wider herumb Teutsche Biblische Sprüch angeschrieben waren / beschickten sie einen Tüncher / mit begeren / er solte diese Schrifften vber Tünchen / der antwortet jhnen: Wann er es schon vber Tünchte / würde es doch immer herfür scheinen / sie müssen es mit einem Meissel gantz auß den Wänden herauß schlagen lassen. Derohalben sie einen Maurer beschickten / vnd fragten / was er nemmen wolt / vnd diese Schrifften vertilgen / der antwortet jhnen Von jeder Zeil ein Reichsthaler. Als sich die Patres verwunderten / mit vermelden: Es were doch gar ein geringe Arbeit / vnd schwind geschehen; antwortet er jhnen: Nein fürwar jhr Herren / es ist nicht so ein leichte arbeit / Gottes wort vertilgen / ich muß ein sehr hohes gerüst machen / vnd besorgen / das ich den Hals gar drüber entzwey falle*" (*Der Teutschen Scharpfsinnige Kluge Sprüch / Apophthegmata genannt / Durch Julium Wilhelm Zincgrefen / der rechten Doctorn*" (Straßburg, Bey Josiae Riheln Seel. Erben. M.DC.XXXIX, p. 332-333).

[3] The term 'Austria' is used here mainly in the late medieval sense and applies to the historical dukedoms of Austria above and beneath the river Enns, which – with some territorial modifications – form the modern two provinces of Upper and Lower Austria. Inscriptions from other provinces will be introduced only as parallel cases or for comparison.

[4] Only in 2009 was a comparative volume published*: The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. B. WARF and S. ARIAS (Milton Park and New York, 2009); see esp. B. WARF

(*spatialisation*).[5] While many of the handbooks presenting the theoretical approach in different disciplines of the humanities[6] seem to end up quite regularly in rather self-referential, name-dropping quotes of always the same base of sociological literature, a few contributions to the field seriously try to adapt the

and S. ARIAS, "Introduction: The reinsertion of space into the social sciences and humanities", pp. 1-10. The theoretical concept – combined with the gender aspect – is applied to modern urban space in *Teaching Gender, Diversity and Urban Space: An Intersectional Approach between Gender Studies and Spatial Disciplines*, ed. A.-S. LADA (Utrecht, 2009: *Teaching with Gender* 1).

[5] Cf. M. BOURIN (with the collaboration of E. ZADORA-RIO), "Analyses de l'espace ", in: *Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire du moyen âge en France et en Allemagne: Actes des colloques de Sèvres (1997) et Göttingen (1998) organisés par le Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique et le Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte*, ed. J.-C. SCHMITT and O.G. OEXLE (Paris, 2003), pp. 493-510 (with an emphasis on archaeology) and H.-J. SCHMIDT, "Espace et conscience de l'espace dans l'historiographie médiévale allemande", *ibid*., pp. 511-536.

[6] *Soziale Räume und kulturelle Praktiken über den strategischen Gebrauch von Medien*, ed. G. MEIN and M. RIEGER-LADICH (Bielefeld, 2004), esp. F. SCHULTHEIS, "Das Konzept des sozialen Raums: Eine zentrale Achse in Pierre Bourdieus Gesellschaftstheorie", pp. 15-26; *Raum und Bewegung in der Literatur: Die Literaturwissenschaften und der* Spatial Turn, ed. W. HALLET and B. NEUMANN (Bielefeld, 2009), esp. W. HALLET and B. NEUMANN, "Raum und Bewegung in der Literatur: Zur Einführung", pp. 11-32; *Zum* spatial turn *in der Romanistik: Akten der Sektion 25 des XXX. Romanistentages Wien, 23.-27. September 2007*, ed. V. DOLLE and U. HELFRICH (Munich, 2009), esp. V. DOLLE and U. HELFRICH, "Zum *spatial turn* in der Romanistik", pp. IX-XIX and B. LINDORFER, "Das Konzept des gelebten Raumes: Zum *spatial turn* in der Linguistik", pp. 57-77; *Kommunikation – Gedächtnis – Raum: Kulturwissenschaften nach dem "*Spatial Turn*"*, ed. M. CSÁKY and Chr. LEITGEB (Bielefeld, 2009), esp. A. ASSMANN, "Geschichte findet Stadt", pp. 13-28, and J. LOSSAU, "Räume von Bedeutung: *Spatial turn*, *cultural turn* und Kulturgeographie", pp. 29-43; Spatial Turn*: Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften*, ed- J. DÖRING and T. THIELMANN, 2nd edn. (Bielefeld, 2009), esp. J. DÖRING and T. THIELMANN, "Einleitung: Was lesen wir im Raume? Der *Spatial Turn* und das geheime Wissen der Geographen", pp. 7-45, E. PILTZ, "'Trägheit des Raums': Fernand Braudel und die *Spatial Stories* der Geschichtswissenschaft", pp. 75-102, and M. SCHROER, "'*Bringing space back in*' – Zur Relevanz des Raums als soziologischer Kategorie", pp. 125-148; instructive for a comparison of the reception of the concept in neighbouring disciplines are *Raumkonzepte: Disziplinäre Zugänge*, ed. I. BAUMGÄRTNER *et al*. (Göttingen, 2009), esp. the introduction by the editors, "Raumkonzepte: Zielsetzung, Forschungstendenzen und Ergebnisse", pp. 9-25; and *Raum: Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. St. GÜNZEL with F. KÜMMERLING (Weimar, 2010), esp. M. OTT, "Bildende und darstellende Künste", pp. 60-76, J. DÖRING, "Raumkehren: 1. Kopernikanische Wende, 2. *Spatial turn*", pp. 77-99, K. WAGNER, "*Topographical Turn*", pp. 100-109, K. EBELING, "Historischer Raum: Archiv und Erinnerungsort", pp. 121-133, L. KAJETZKE and M. SCHRORER, "Sozialer Raum: Verräumlichung", pp. 192-203, and K. NOAC and H. OEVERMANN, "Urbaner Raum: Platz – Stadt – Agglomeration", pp. 266-279.

concept alongside others for the multi-faceted analysis of urban spaces.[7] Notwithstanding the increasing number of scholars criticising the overexertion of the concept,[8] some general outlines may be useful for an approach to our topic.

Inscribed objects are influencing or constituting public space in certain ways. First, by simply (materially) occupying the space of their placement and thus differentiating between their uninscribed surroundings and their own specifically marked, inscribed space. Placing an inscription, whether on a stone slab or anywhere else, in order to be perceived and read by others means to claim a part of public space, turning it (to a certain extent) into a private place used for the representation of the person who commissioned it. As Berruti explains:

> Looking at public space in order to understand its composition is to consider at the same time urban spaces and the way in which they are experienced by people (thus becoming 'places'). The meaning of place and space often merges in our knowledge of urban life, but people are acquainted with places. This issue requires to introduce the concept of place as a space with some adjectives adhering to: space becomes place when people organise it and attach a meaning to it.[9]

[7] For some positive recent exceptions see A. CLASSEN, "Urban space in the Middle Ages and the early modern Age: Historical, mental, cultural, and social-economic Investigations", in: *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. A. CLASSEN (Berlin and New York, 2009: *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture* 4), pp. 1-146; most of the contributions to *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, ed. C. GOODSON *et al.* (Farnham and Burlington, 2010); *Stadtgestalt und Öffentlichkeit: Die Entstehung politischer Räume in der Stadt der Vormoderne*, ed. St. ALBRECHT (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2010), esp. M. MERSIOWSKY, "Wege zur Öffentlichkeit: Kommunikation und Medieneinsatz in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt", pp. 13-57, M. UNTERMANN, "Plätze und Straßen: Beobachtungen zur Oganisation und Repräsentation von Öffentlichkeit in der mittelalterlichen Stadt", pp. 59-100, and St. ALBRECHT, "Zeremonialräume in den mittelalterlichen Städten des Alten Reiches", pp. 233-252. *Media and Urban Space: Understanding, Investigating and Approaching Mediacity*, ed. F. ECKARDT (Berlin, 2008) is focussing on contemporary cities only; nevertheless some articles (e.g. G. BERRUTI, "Urban public spaces in the augmented city", pp. 9-22) offer quanta of basic insight also for the pre-modern era.

[8] St. GÜNZEL, "*Spatial Turn – Topographical Turn – Topological Turn*: Über die Unterschiede zwischen Raumparadigmen", in: *Spatial Turn*, pp. 219-237; R. LIPPUNER and J. LOSSAU, "In der Raumfalle: Eine Kritik des spatial turn in den Sozialwissenschaften", in: *Soziale Räume und kulturelle Praktiken*, pp. 47-64; ID., "Kritik der Raumkehren", in: *Raum: Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, pp. 110-119.

[9] BERRUTI, "Urban public spaces", p. 12; similar thoughts in ASSMANN, "Geschichte findet Stadt", pp. 15-16.

Having said this, we must nevertheless keep in mind that public space in a medieval town is not what we would currently understand as 'public' – not to mention the different connotations of the terms 'town' or 'city' themselves.[10] This is the place to underscore that medieval space was also constituted by means of sounds which have long since turned into lasting silence to the historian,[11] not to mention other synaesthetic influences on the individual formation of links between places and memories, such as flavour and smells, or the diffuse mixture of all impressions giving a certain 'feeling' of places.[12]

As far as I can see, epigraphic monuments have scarcely been discussed as sources revealing aspects of the urban or civic use of writing. It is true that on the following pages the persons one would expect to be responsible for quite a number of inscriptions in urban space – namely the burghers and inhabitants of towns – do not play too prominent a role. Moreover, taking the topic of this volume, medieval urban literacy, seriously, the interpretation of epigraphic sources seems to be narrowly limited. Leaving aside the case of inscriptions such as graffiti, which are mostly short texts, often spontaneously written onto a wall or an object without higher demands on calligraphic quality,[13] medieval

[10] Cf. CLASSEN, "Urban space", p. 2: "Undoubtedly, urban space certainly meant something quite different to people in the Middle Ages and the early modern age than to those who still lived with the Roman culture in mind ... . We can probably assert that the same kind of difference exists between, on the one hand, our modern attitude to and relationship with urban space, and that held by people in the premodern era, on the other"; or MERSIOWSKY, "Wege zur Öffentlichkeit", p. 14: "*Gerade weil in der Forschung Einmut darüber hergestellt wurde, dass man mit der nötigen Vorsicht den Begriff* [sc. public] *auch für das Mittelalter benutzen kann, muss man sich einiger Besonderheiten bewußt sein. Zunächst ist zu betonen, dass von der Öffentlichkeit nicht die Rede sein kann. Die spätmittelalterliche Stadt bestand aus ganz verschiedenen Kreisen, die voneinander abgegrenzt waren, sich aber oft auch überschnitten und durchdrangen*" and p. 16: "*So standen öffentlichen Räumen teilöffentliche und exklusive Orte gegenüber*".

[11] See C. SYMES, "Out in the open, in Arras: Sightlines, soundscapes, and the shaping of a medieval public sphere", in: *Cities, Texts and Social Networks*, pp. 279-302; A. DIRMEIER, "Information, Kommunikation und Dokumentation im transurbanen Raum", in: *Kommunikation in mittelalterlichen Städten*, ed. J. OBERSTE (Regensburg, 2007: *Forum Mittelalter: Studien* 3), pp. 51-62, esp. pp. 51-52; Chr. BRÜSTLE, "Klang als performative Prägung von Räumlichkeiten", in: *Kommunikation – Gedächtnis – Raum*, pp. 113-129.

[12] Cf. G. LEHNERT, "Raum und Gefühl", in: *Raum und Gefühl: Der* Spatial Turn *und die neue Emotionsforschung*, ed. G. LEHNERT (Bielefeld, 2011), pp. 9-25.

[13] Unfortunately I will not be able to present epigraphic aspects of everyday life in this article: most of the medieval graffiti inscriptions, for instance those written on walls with red chalk in Austrian towns, are very short and reveal hardly more than he names of the writers and the date of their visit to the respective places; in churches situated along important pilgrim routes

epigraphic writing is almost exclusively carried out by specialised artisans and craftsmen. Thus, inscriptions are in a sense unsuitable to give us, for instance, any clues concerning the writing (and of course reading) skills of those who commissioned them. As we shall see below, there is an important difference between seeing and reading – not to mention understanding – an inscription, as is evident from the example of an Austrian nobleman who, in the mid-sixteenth century, mistook the spoils of an antique Roman epitaph arranged above the entrance of his castle for an inscription about the erection of the building by his own brother.[14]

But even those who belonged to a learned and literate urban elite would not write their epigraphic texts themselves, no matter if they were to be carved in stone, cut in wood, or painted on walls. This fact has been underlined with a definition of inscriptions that has become popular among German-speaking scholars over the last few decades: the late Munich medievalist Rudolf Kloos regarded inscriptions as writing on genuinely epigraphic material such as stone, wood, metal, textiles, and so on, carried out with means and by writers who do not belong to the spheres of the scriptoria and / or chanceries of their time.[15]

the messages may be more significant for the historian and epigrapher. Cf. R. SCHMITZ-ESSER, "Das versteckte Gästebuch von St. Nikolaus in Hall: Die Graffiti auf der Brüstung der Empore der Pfarrkirche und ihre Entschlüsselung", *Tiroler Heimatblätter* 81 (2006), pp. 102-107; ID., "Die Graffiti der Salvatorkirche von Hall in Tirol", in: *Forum Hall in Tirol: Neues zur Geschichte der Stadt*, ed. A. ZANESCO and R. SCHMITZ-ESSER, 2 vols. (Hall in Tirol, 2006-2008: *Nearchos. Sonderheft* 14, 16), 1, pp. 110-125. On graffiti as historical sources see D. KRAACK, *Monumentale Zeugnisse der spätmittelalterlichen Adelsreise: Inschriften und Graffiti des 14.-16. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1997: *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 3. Folge 224); D. KRAACK and P. LINGENS, *Bibliographie zu historischen Graffiti zwischen Antike und Moderne* (Krems, 2001: *Medium aevum quotidianum* 11). Furthermore I will not present ephemeral inscriptions regarding performative acts such as public feasts of all kinds.

[14] See A. ZAJIC, "Inventionen und Intentionen eines gelehrten Genres: Gedruckte Inschriftensammlungen des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts: Mit exemplarischen Glossen zur Praxis (epigraphischer) Gelegenheitsdichtung des Adels in der frühen Neuzeit", in: *Traditionen, Zäsuren. Umbrüche: Inschriften des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit im historischen Kontext: Beiträge zur 11. Internationalen Fachtagung für Epigraphik vom 9. bis 11. Mai 2007 in Greifswald*, ed. Chr. MAGIN *et al*. (Wiesbaden, 2008), pp. 165-192, at p. 165. The epitaph might be identical with the monument for Titus Flavius Victorinus, a former *decurio* of the *ala Tampiana* (cf. *Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae*, ed. Th. MOMMSEN (Berlin, 1873; repr. 1958: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3), No. 5632, today in the Benedictine abbey of Kremsmünster (Upper Austria), and see the images on http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org (ID 4504).

[15] R.M. KLOOS, *Einführung in die Epigraphik des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit* (Darmstadt, 1980; second edn.1992: *Die Kunstwissenschaft: Einführungen in Gegenstand,*

This definition has – at least in Central and East Central Europe – certainly constituted an imaginary borderline between a medieval manuscript culture which should be studied by palaeographers and codicologists and an epigraphic scene still struggling to emerge from the neglected margins of established scholarly interest. Inherently simple, inscriptions are texts as any others, but very often they are displayed in public spaces instead of buried archives or manuscript collections. The public aspect of inscriptions was therefore stressed by the grand old man of French epigraphy, Poitiers' Robert Favreau. When defining inscriptions he emphasised the criteria of durability ("*longue durée*") and publicity ("*publicité*").[16] Epigraphic reality turns out to be more complex and to be set rather in the middle between the two defining traditions: collective indulgences of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for instance, written in regular forms on parchment seem to have been mounted on wood and affixed in the respective beneficiaries' churches to ensure their publicity (see below). Needless to say, objects of this sort are consequently neglected by palaeographers and epigraphers alike.

Moreover, medieval inscriptions in the public space of Austrian towns are for the most part restricted to a small range of topics: first of all there are, quite dominantly, funerary inscriptions dedicated to the memory of the deceased.[17] Churches or – on a more general level – ecclesiastic institutions were undoubtedly a hot spot of writing and literacy during the Middle Ages, whether in towns or in the countryside. The epigraphic results of such almost monopolistic use of script had their special share within the whole medial and symbolic (and sometimes performative) ensemble that constituted a sacred building.[18]

*Methoden und Ergebnisse ihrer Teildisziplinen und Hilfswissenschaften*), p. 2: "*Beschriftungen verschiedener Materialien – in Stein, Holz, Metall, Leder, Stoff, Email, Glas, Mosaik, usw. – die von Kräften und mit Methoden hergestellt sind, die nicht dem Schreibschul- und Kanzleibetrieb angehören*".

[16] R. Favreau, *Épigraphie médiévale* (Turnhout, 1997: *L'Atelier du Médiéviste* 5), p. 31: "*L'inscription a pour fonction de porter une information à la connaissance du public le plus large et pour la plus longue durée, d'assurer une communication en vue d'une publicité universelle et durable*".

[17] Cf. – *pars pro toto* for abundant scholarship – K.G. Tracy, "Defining the medieval city through death: A case study", in: *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, pp. 183-204; for the medieval and early modern funerary monuments in Lower Austria see A. Zajic, *"Zu ewiger gedächtnis aufgericht": Grabdenkmäler als Quelle für Memoria und Repräsentation von Adel und Bürgertum im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit: Das Beispiel Niederösterreichs* (Vienna and Munich, 2004: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband* 45).

[18] Cf. St. Schaede, "Heilige Handlungsräume? Eine theologisch-raumtheoretische Betrachtung zur performativen Kraft von Kirchenräumen", in: *Raumkonzepte*, pp. 51-69.

**Fig. 1** Braunau am Inn (Upper Austria), parish church St. Stephen's, outer west side: tombstones from the fifteenth century in the ground, early modern epitaphs above on the wall. Photo: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Arbeitsgruppe Inschriften (Roland Forster).

## *Funerary Inscriptions*

The well-known hierarchy of prestigious burial places inside and around a parish church – the closer to the altars and the closer to the walls of the church the better – was accompanied by a parallel ranking of visibility of the funerary monuments. If the available space for graves in the churchyard immediately adjacent to the outer walls of the church was already entirely covered with tomb slabs, the attention drawn to individual stones and their inscriptions was rather peripheral. A good way to address this problem in the struggle for visibility was to complete the tomb slab with an epitaph fixed vertically to the church wall, thus providing better visible space and more easily legible information.

The parish church of the city of Braunau am Inn (Upper Austria), which had formerly been part of the Bavarian dukedom and has only belonged to Austria since 1779, still gives a good impression of the medieval situation. A number of tomb slabs from the fifteenth century in the grounds of the former graveyard surrounding the church seem to have remained more or less in their original position. Attached to the church wall above the stones there are early modern epitaphs, probably replacing older monuments belonging to the tomb slabs in the ground (Fig. 1).

An epitaph from the parish church St. Nicholas in Stein an der Donau (Lower Austria) explicitly creates a link between the actual burial place of the corpse in the ground of the cemetery and the funerary monument in the wall above, which was to deliver the information about the dead on a higher level of legibility. The inscription pointed out that the deceased, Eva Wagner, was buried under the tomb slab which lay underneath the epitaph:

> An sand Gilign dem erstn tag / Septembris im fünftzehnhun/dert vnd Neuntzehendn Iarn / hat die tugenhafft Frau Eua / des Edlen Georgen wagner / derzeit des Gotzhaus closter / newburg Rentmeister Ir zeit/lichs leben beslossen vnder / disem vndenligendn Stain be/graben der got genad[19]

> On the day of St. Giles, 1 September, in 1519, lady Eva, blessed with virtue, wife of the noble Georg Wagner, then bailiff of the monastery of Klosterneuburg, fin-

[19] See the forthcoming edition of the medieval and early modern inscriptions of the city of Krems prepared by the author: *Die Inschriften der Statutarstadt Krems an der Donau* (Vienna: *Die Deutschen Inschriften*).

ished her temporal life; she is buried under the stone lying here underneath; may God have mercy on her.

The cemetery surrounding the parish church in Stein, the so-called "*untere Freidhof*" ("lower graveyard") was the burial site for an estimated 10 percent of the population until it was closed down in 1772. After the opening of a second graveyard in Stein at the Frauenbergkirche ('Church of Our Lady on the Hill'), the old parish cemetery was used mainly by the leading families of the city as far as they did not possess burials within the church, whereas at least since the seventeenth century the cemetery on the hill was regarded as the main graveyard and *coemiterium ordinarium*.[20] In 1786-1788 the old funerary monuments from the cemetery at the parish church were removed, but apparently all the slabs lying close to each other in the ground adjacent to the outer walls of the church remained there at least until the 1830s, when they seemed to have served as a sort of pavement for the main road that passed the parish church.[21] As major processions in towns,[22] for instance on All Saints' Day, would typically lead partly through the graveyards, the monuments placed next to the paths had the best chances of being perceived by the crowd that was slowly and ceremonially passing by.

As burial places in late medieval towns were rare – with the parish churches situated in central positions (for instance on the market or on a main road) – the cemeteries could not be enlarged without major problems, and so the erection of charnel houses was often an urgent need for the towns. Wealthy burghers who made donations for new charnel houses sometimes used the walls of the buildings to list everybody who had supplied financial resources. In Stein an der Donau the late-gothic charnel house originally had a huge stone

[20] See H. RAUSCHER, "Friedhöfe und andere Begräbnisstätten in Stein a. d. D.", *Das Waldviertel* N.S. 1.12 (1952), pp. 17-20, at pp. 11-12.

[21] See F.X. SCHWEICKHARDT VON SICKINGEN, *Darstellung des Erzherzogthums Oesterreich unter der Ens* [!] *durch umfassende Beschreibung aller Ruinen, Schlösser, Herrschaften ... historisch bearbeitet und nach den bestehenden vier Kreisvierteln gereiht: Viertel Ober-Manhartsberg*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1839-1841), 2, p. 58: "*Sowohl in- und außerhalb der Kirche sind viele Grabsteine vorhanden, wovon die Mehrzahl aus dem XV. Jahrhunderte ist. Sie werden der Länge der Kirche nach gleichsam als Trottoir verwendet und sind ganz vertreten, daher meistens unleserlich*" ("inside as well as outside of the church there are many tombstones, mostly from the fifteenth century. They are used like a footway all along the church walls and are completely worn off and illegible").

[22] See S. VON HEUSINGER, "'Cruzgang' und 'umblauf' – Symbolische Kommunikation im Stadtraum am Beispiel von Prozessionen", in: *Kommunikation in mittelalterlichen Städten*, pp. 141-155.

**Fig. 2** Krems an der Donau (Lower Austria), WEINSTADTmuseum (originally Stein an der Donau, parish church St. Nicholas): epitaph for Urban Schlundt (1496). Photo: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Arbeitsgruppe Inschriften (Michael Malina).

tablet fixed to the wall which displayed the coats of arms of the founding couple and listed the burial dates of the family members, thus unmistakably inviting visitors to the cemetery to pray for the souls of the deceased. Moreover the text refers to an older (and now lost) inscription stating prior pious donations of the family:

> *Anno (et) c(etera) 14[6]2 starb der Edl hannss wisent erster Stiffter dises karrners anno / (et) c(etera) 1464 starb die Edl fraw helena des gestrenng(e)n Ritter h(e)r(r)n Ian hussn tochter / sein hausfraw Anno (et) c(etera) 1509 starb die / tug(e)n[h]afft fraw hedwig des edl(en) lienharten / Wisen(n)t der Zeyt Burgermaister beder / stet hausfraw Anno (et) c(etera) 1520 starb / der Edl lienhart Wisen(n)t Stiffter des / ewigen liechts vnd annder stifft / laudt der gschrift Im Marbl stain / begriffen den geschlächt(e)n got allen genedig vnd parmhertzig sein / welle amen all hernach (et) c(etera)*[23]
>
> Anno etc. 1462 died the noble Hans Wisent, first founder of this charnel house etc. In 1464 died the noble lady Helena, daughter of the stern knight sir Jan Hus, his wife. Anno etc. 1509 died lady Hedwig, blessed with virtues, wife of the noble Lienhard Wisent, then mayor of the two cities. Anno etc. 1520 died the noble Lienhard Wisent, founder of the sanctuary lamp and of other foundations according to the writing on the marble slab. May God have mercy upon the members of this family, amen, join us all, etc.

If possible, funerary inscriptions stated pious donations of the deceased and tied the memory of the dead to objects (and places) which survived their founders. An epitaph of 1496 (Fig. 2) in the outer south wall of the parish church of Stein remembers the burgher Urban Schlundt as the founder of St. George's altar inside the building:

> *an(n)o d(omi)ni 1495 hat der ersam we[i]sz vrban schlvndt pvrger // zv stain · gestift · sand · jorg(e)n · altar · d(er) · gestorben · ist · am 12 · tag · des · / mercz(e)n · jm · 1496 · / jar · katherina · sein · havsfraw · ist · gestarb(e)n · jm · / 1494 · jar de(n) got gnad · joan(n)es · wetzinger hoc · opus · effecit ·*[24]
>
> Anno domini 1495 the honourable and wise Urban Schlundt, burgher in Stein, founded St. George's altar; he died on 12 March in 1496, his wife Katharina died in 1494. May God have mercy on them. Johannes Wetzinger carried out this work.

[23] See A. Zajic, *Die Inschriften der Statutarstadt Krems an der Donau*.
[24] See A. Zajic, *Die Inschriften der Statutarstadt Krems an der Donau*.

**Fig. 3** Eggenburg (Lower Austria), parish church St. Stephen's, presbitery: tabernacle with donor's inscription (1505, detail). Photo: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Arbeitsgruppe Inschriften (Michael Malina).

The artefact is all the more remarkable in that the deceased had the iconographic ideas for his own monument laid down quite precisely in his will.[25] Whereas the executors of his will were clinging to these outlines as closely as possible when they commissioned the epitaph, the sculptor, Johannes Wetzinger, seems to have had a free hand to end the inscription with a line that mentions himself as the artist who carried out the work.

In a number of towns, such as in Krems an der Donau, the churches and cloisters of the mendicant convents rather than the ordinary parish church were decidedly the favourite burial places of the urban elites, as well as of the regional nobility. As entrance to the presbyteries was normally strictly limited to the monks, for liturgical reasons, these compartments of the church building were out of bounds for the laity. Quite similarly, the presbyteries of parish churches were zones of restricted accessibility and therefore also knew a restricted public. In the presbytery of the parish church of Eggenburg there is a flamboyant tabernacle of 1505, erected by the future archbishop of Salzburg, Cardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg, who at that time was equipped with the considerable prebends of the parishes of Gars and Eggenburg, traditionally conferred to the Austrian chancellor (Fig. 3). This monument, inscribed with a highly ambitious, up-to-date version of antiquising Roman capitals that seems to have been influenced by Konrad Peutinger's printing type for his Augsburg epigraphic sylloge men-

[25] "*Item ich verordn, mir ainen grabstain zu bestelln, und ob meinen stain an der khirchn ain gemael, darein die lieb fraw, Sand Anna und Sand Andres pildnus zu machen, auch den Schlund ainen mit dreyn sun und sein hausfraw mit ainer tochter*" ("Item I want a tombstone to be commissioned and above the stone on the outside of the church a wallpainting containing the images of Our Lady, St. Anne and St. Andrew and also the Schlundt [*sic*] with his three sons and his wife with one daughter").

**Fig. 4** Krems an der Donau (Lower Austria), WEINSTADTmuseum (former monastery of the Dominicans): cloister wall with anniversary inscriptions (end of the thirteenth century). Photo: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Arbeitsgruppe Inschriften (Michael Malina).

tioned below,[26] drew so much attention that apparently nobody wanted his or her own monument to compete with it in the presbytery.

In the church of the Dominican friars in Krems the spatial distribution of graves and funerary monuments demonstrates social segregation within the town quite clearly. The interior of the church, nave, and chapels, as well as the cloister, had initially been furnished with a number of funerary monuments for

[26] The ties between the Augsburg-born patrician Lang and the humanist circle surrounding Peutinger were undoubtedly close, and not only in terms of the patronage provided by the future archbishop of Salzburg. The Eggenburg inscription, in which the precisely carved letters are painted red and blue like some medieval manuscript display scripts, reads: "*D(EO) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) ET · / HOSTIE · SA·/CRO·SA(NCTE) D(OMI)N(VS) / MATHEVS · / LANG · E(PISCO)PATVS · / GVRCEN(SIS) · AD/MI(NI)STRATOR · / ET · P(RE)PO(S)ITVS · / ECCL(ES)IE KAT(HEDRA)L(IS) · / AVGVSTEN(SIS) · AT-/QVE · IN · GORS / ET · EGE(N)BVRG / PLEBANVS · / ETCETERA · / FIERI CVRA-/VIT · AN(N)O · DO(MINI) · / M · D · V · KAL(ENDIS) · / IVNIIS ·* ".

the regional nobility and a small leading group of successful local burghers,[27] whereas the mass of average inhabitants of the city was buried in the parish church, where only three medieval burials for nobles are documented. Unfortunately almost all monuments from the Middle Ages in both churches have been destroyed or lost, so we cannot focus on the objects themselves. A closer look at the commemorative inscriptions painted onto the walls of the cloister, which were discovered in 1970-1971 during restoration works, reveals interesting details (Fig. 4).[28] At least as far as the inscriptions dating from the end of the thirteenth century were restored, we can see columns filled with anniversary notes obviously referring in some rather straightforward sort of intertextuality to the necrology of the convent.[29] Most of the names, which are written in a

[27] The vital interest of local landed gentries to obtain a burial place in an urban monastery is not only a phenomenon of Krems; cf. DIRMEIER, "Information", p. 60, with the example of Regensburg. In Krems the symbolic competition for visibility through tombstones and epitaphs in the Dominican monastery was amplified by the fact that the cloister and the refectory were used in the fifteenth century at least some days per year as setting for the meetings of artisan guilds such as the bakers of the city; see H. KÜHNEL, "Das Dominikanerkloster: Kirche – Kloster – Kreuzgang", in: *1000 Jahre Kunst in Krems: Ausstellung, veranstaltet von der Stadt Krems an der Donau, 28. Mai bis 24. Oktober 1971, Dominikanerkloster Krems, Niederösterreich* (Krems an der Donau, 1971[2]), pp. 133-151, at p. 141. When attending their get-togethers in the cloister the members of the guild had to pass by the funerary monuments of the nobles and wealthy burghers.

[28] See KÜHNEL, "Dominikanerkloster", pp. 138-140 (Fig. 3); B. SCHEDL, "Medien der Verkündigung im Mittelalter Zu den gemalten Anniversarien im Kremser Dominikanerkloster", in: *Text als Realie: Internationaler Kongress, Krems an der Donau, 3, bis 6. Oktober 2000*, ed. K. BRUNNER and G. JARITZ (Vienna, 2003: *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte* 704 = *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit* 18), pp. 297-317 and A. ZAJIC, *Die Inschriften der Statutarstadt Krems an der Donau*. Fragments of anniversary notes painted onto the cloister walls in the fourteenth century have been preserved also in the cloister of the Cistercian abbey of Wilhering; see R. SCHRAML, "Ein gemaltes Nekrolog? Bemerkungen zu den Wilheringer Kreuzganginschriften", *Wilhering – Stift und Gymnasium: 98. Jahresbericht* 2007/08, pp. 3-5.

[29] The oldest necrology of the Krems convent, dating from the late thirteenth century (*c.* 1270-1280), was transferred to the then newly founded Dominican convent of Retz in the early fourteenth century; see I.W. FRANK, "Das Anniversarium des Kremser Dominikanerklosters aus der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts", *Mitteilungen des Kremser Stadtarchivs* 20 (1980), pp. 1-26. Younger necrologies from Krems seem to be lost, as did the larger part of the whole archive due to the fact that the convent was closed down by Emperor Joseph II in 1785; see G. WINNER, "Die Aufhebung des Kremser Dominikanerklosters", *Mitteilungen des Kremser Stadtarchivs* 1 (1961), pp. 131-142; KÜHNEL, "Dominikanerkloster"; and G. HANIKA, *Die Dominikaner in Krems von der Gründung bis zur Aufhebung ihres Klosters* (PhD thesis Vienna, 1969). Fragments of a late fifteenth-century necrology manuscript turned up in 1952; see A. LHOTSKY, "Das Fragment eines Totenbuches der Dominikaner in Krems", *Mitteilungen des Kremser Stadt-*

typical contemporary gothic majuscule and arranged in painted canon table-like arcades, belong to well-known Austrian lords and nobles who were among the chief donors to the convent during its first decades. Far more remarkable is the fact that there are further lines written in a genuinely non-epigraphic script, i.e. in a characteristic manuscript type of textualis, which was adapted for epigraphic applications only in the last third of the fourteenth century.

The same script was used for a versified Latin text in leonine hexameters, which was unexpectedly uncovered in 2008 during reconstruction work in a first floor room of the former convent: the room turned out to be its original library.[30] The verses teach the members of the convent the theological meaning of *vera sophia*. In contrast to the anniversary lines, which appear in an easily legible, large-scale majuscule suited to meet the official and representative character of the donor's epigraphic *memoria*, the minuscule texts in the cloister seem to be devised rather for the monastic viewer. Whereas the texts in majuscule are limited to the names of the deceased lords and nobles and the day of their death, at least one of the minuscule notes refers to the services of the man for the convent, who seems to have been a glass painter, as the inscription reads "*qui fecit vitrum secundum*". If we are right in attributing the minuscule script to monastic readers, we may reasonably assume that the nameless deceased man was a lay friar belonging to the Krems convent.

## *Lords vs. Burghers – Struggling for Monopolies of Epigraphic Writing*

Returning from palaeographic details to more general matters, we must keep in the mind that the complex process of placing an inscription in public space means to inscribe oneself or a deliberate representation of oneself into a given area which already bears many different connotations. Inscriptions and inscribed objects compete with each other as texts on public display, marking and branding the space individually. This competition is often carried out as a symbolic struggle for the rare well visible spaces within a town.

Most of the Austrian towns in the late Middle Ages subject to the Austrian dukes, foreign bishoprics, or local lords were very small,[31] and sometimes

*archivs* 1 (1961), pp. 1-7.

[30] The original function of the room is evident from four two-line *tituli* in gothic majuscule which once labelled the manuscripts kept in the bookshelves underneath the inscriptions, for instance "*POSTILLE · NO[VI] / TESTAMENTI*" or "*· LIBRI GLOSSATI · +/ · VETERIS · TESTAM(EN)TJ*".

[31] Comparative literature on Austrian towns and cities in the Middle Ages is not too

lacked – just as their counterparts in most of the other territories and regions of the medieval Roman empire – a significant quantum of urbanity in modern terms.[32] None of them was ever granted or managed to keep for more than a couple of years the privilege of a free imperial city. Normally the local administration was maintained by a representative or officer of the lord of the town, for instance a bailiff or the judge. In larger cities the council elected a mayor who also had to be approved by the respective authority.

This political constellation was in a certain way reflected in terms of symbolic representation in the town. Urban space was separated into smaller portions of more or less attractive places to inscribe.[33] It is clear that there was

numerous; cf. *Österreichs Städte und Märkte in ihrer Geschichte*, ed. E. ZÖLLNER (Vienna, 1985: *Schriften des Instituts für Österreichkunde* 46); H. KNITTLER, "Die österreichische Stadt im Spätmittelalter: Verfassung und Sozialstruktur: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Problemkreises 'Stadtadel und Bürgertum'", in: *Stadtadel und Bürgertum in den italienischen und deutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters*, ed. R. ELZE and G. FASOLI (Berlin, 1991: *Schriften des Italienisch-Deutschen Historischen Instituts Trient* 2), pp. 183-205; H. WEIGL, "Die unauffälligen Städte: Österreichs Kleinstädte im Dunkel der Historiographie", in: *Österreich im Mittelalter: Bausteine zu einer revidierten Gesamtdarstellung: Die Vorträge des 16. Symposions des Niederösterreichischen Instituts für Landeskunde, Puchberg am Schneeberg, 1. bis 4. Juli 1996*, ed. W. ROSNER (St. Pölten, 1999: *Studien und Forschungen aus dem Niederösterreichischen Institut für Landeskunde* 26), pp. 119-185; J. SEIDL, "Wein, Salz, Jahr- und Wochenmarkt im österreichischen Spätmittelalter: Bemerkungen zur Städtepolitik Albrechts V. (II.)", *ibid*., pp. 167-185; P. JOHANEK, "Die österreichische Stadtgeschichtsforschung zur mittelalterlichen Epoche: Leistungen – Defizite – Perspektiven", *Pro Civitate Austriae* N.S. 5 (2000), pp. 7-22; W. KATZINGER, "*Forum Austriae, nec civitas nec villa*", in: *Minderstädte – Kümmerformen – Gefreite Dörfer: Studien zur Urbanität und das Märkteproblem*, ed. H. KNITTLER (Linz, 2006: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas* 20), pp. 203-277; H. KNITTLER, "Zu den Führungsschichten in spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Städten Österreichs", in: *Stadt und Prosopographie*, ed. P. CSENDES and J. SEIDL (Linz, 2002: *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Städte und Märkte Österreichs* 6), pp. 29-41; ID., "Städtelandschaften in Österreich im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühneuzeit", in: *Städtelandschaft – Réseau Urbain – Urban Network: Städte im regionalen Kontext in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. H.Th. GRÄF and K. KELLER (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2004: *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für vergleichende Städtegeschichte in Münster, Städteforschung Reihe A: Darstellungen* 62), pp. 111-133.

[32] Literature on the definition of cities and towns in the Middle Ages is legion; cf. for German cities and towns *Vielerlei Städte: Der Stadtbegriff*, ed. P. JOHANEK and F.-J. POST (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2004: *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für vergleichende Städtegeschichte in Münster, Städteforschung Reihe A: Darstellungen* 61), esp. F. IRSIGLER, "Überlegungen zur Konstruktion und Interpretation mittelalterlicher Stadttypen", pp. 107-119, and H.Th. GRÄF, "'*Small towns, large implications*'? Bemerkungen zur Konjunktur in der historischen Kleinstadtforschung", pp. 145-158; W. EHBRECHT, "'Minderstadt' – ein tauglicher Begriff der vergleichenden Städteforschung?", in: *Minderstädte*, pp. 1-50.

[33] Cf. J. HIRSCHBIEGEL and G. ZEILINGER, "Urban space divided? The encounter of civic and courtly spheres in late-medieval towns", in: *Urban Space in the Middle Ages*, pp. 481-503.

permanent interference of spaces that were more or less exclusively attributed to and used by certain groups. Especially the most significant spots of a town, the portals which as a *pars pro toto* represented the whole town, were regularly marked by the lord of the town with his heraldic achievements and inscriptions.

In 1464 the lord of the small Upper Austrian town of Eferding, Sigmund count of Schaunberg, who used the town on occasion as his residence, had a new portal erected and adorned with a large inscribed tablet displaying his coat of arms. The text insists that the count had built the new portal for the common benefit and wishes that God may reward him for his efforts.

> *Das · gepaw · hat · lassen · machen / der · wolgeporn · herr · Graf · Sigm/vnd · Graue · zu · Schawnberg · zu · / Gemainem · nvcz · Darvmb · Jm · go[tt] / belan · hie · vn(d) · Ebigkich [sic!] · nach · chr(ist)[i] / gepurd · m° · cccc° . vn(d) · Jm · lxiiij° · Jare.*[34]
>
> This building was made by the most excellent lord Sigmund count of Schaunberg for everybody's use; God may reward him for that here and in eternity. After the birth of Christ in the year 1464.

Epigraphic sources for civic representation in Eferding[35] are much harder to find – at least if one looks for explicit expressions of the burghers' pride. While at first glance quite insignificant, a number of inscriptions – some of them mere dates of years – documenting the progress of the late gothic reconstruction of the parish church of the town in the second half of the fifteenth century should be interpreted as an implicit proof of the financial contribution of the inhabitants to their new parish church. Contrary to the epigraphic representation of the lord, the burghers' excessive funding for the works, which is best studied from the wills drawn up by the inhabitants of the town, is not adequately expressed in the respective inscriptions: the longest text related to the reconstruction is the line "*anfang · de//s / lankhavs // 1466*" in the northern part of the nave. Obviously the counts of Schaunberg, as patrons of the church in cooperation with the parson, managed to marginalise the burghers in terms

[34] The stone is currently located in the Eferding town hall on ground floor; see *Inschriften – sprechende Denkmäler der Geschichte. Katalog zur Ausstellung "Inschriften – sprechende Denkmäler der Geschichte", März bis Dezember 2003 (Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv Linz, Schloßmuseum Eferding, Stift Schlägl, Stadtmuseum Wels)* (Vienna, 2003) pp. 14-15 (Fig.); forthcoming: R. FORSTER, *Die Inschriften des Politischen Bezirks Eferding* (Vienna: *Die Deutschen Inschriften*).

[35] See FORSTER, *Inschriften des Politischen Bezirks Eferding*.

of epigraphic representation within the church, even though they had brought in a substantial share of the total costs.

In small towns owned by regional lords epigraphic representation was usually focused on the lord's castle and the portals of the town, as we have already suggested. At least in some cases the nobles had their own houses built in prominent places within the town,[36] such as the central market where they competed with the neighbouring or opposite burghers' houses. The reasons for the erection of such *Freihäuser* were manifold: even though they were exempt ('freed') from municipal taxes and thus reduced the income of the lord of the town, they could provide additional space either for their family or for their household. While the old residences, for instance castles dating back to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, often offered only restricted possibilities for reconstruction and adaption, new or additional building could be carried out according to recent standards of living and representation. On the other hand, such houses could also be kept as objects of speculation and sold with rising demands of construction for the burghers' houses.

In the small town of Gmünd in the northern region of the Waldviertel in Lower Austria, the lords of the town, the barons of Puchheim,[37] had a residence within the castle in the south-western corner of the town.[38] Dating originally from the thirteenth century, the building was partly adapted during the fifteenth century – at least in 1483 the Puchheims had a representative "*nova magna stuba*" in the castle.[39] Yet only in 1464 did Wilhelm von Puchheim have a new

[36] Cf. M. MERSIOWSKY, "Das Stadthaus im Rahmen der spätmittelalterlichen adligen Wirtschaft", in: *Der Adel in der Stadt des Mittelalters und der Frühenneuzeit, Beiträge zum VII. Symposion des Weserrenaissance-Museums Schloß Brake vom 9. bis zum 11. Oktober 1995, veranstaltet in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Institut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte an der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster* (Marburg, 1996: *Materialien zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte in Nord- und Westdeutschland* 25), pp. 199-214; for a good Upper Austrian example W. ASPERNIG and G. KALLIAUER, *Der Welser Stadtplatz und seine Häuser: Historische Entwicklung und heutiges Erscheinungsbild* (Wels, 2002: *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte von Wels: Sonderreihe zum Jahrbuch des Musealvereines Wels* 8); ID., *Das Medienhaus der OÖ Nachrichten in Wels* (Linz, 2002: *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte von Wels: Sonderreihe zum Jahrbuch des Musealvereines Wels* 9).

[37] On the family see Chr. TEPPERBERG, *Die Herren von Puchheim im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte des landsässigen Adels in Niederösterreich* (PhD thesis, University of Vienna, 1978).

[38] See *Burgen Waldviertel – Wachau – Mährisches Thayatal: Mit Beiträgen von M. Jeitler et al*. ed. F. DAIM *et al*. (Vienna, 2009[2]) pp. 167-168.

[39] See Zwettl, Cistercian abbey, archive (Stiftsarchiv Zwettl), charter No. 1040 (1483 October 2, Gmünd), where the "*nova magna stuba sue residencie castri Gmundt*" served as the setting of a final compromise between two parties to the contract.

→**Fig. 5a-b** Linz (Upper Austria), Schlossmuseum (orginally at the "Friedrichstor" of the castle of Linz): inscription tablet with the monogram of emperor Frederick III (1481) – Enns-Lorch, parish church St. Lawrence: tomb slab for Christoph Offerl (1507; detail: signature of the sculptor). Photos: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Arbeitsgruppe Inschriften (Michael Malina).

house built in the middle of the town's main square close to the castle. Today the house (Stadtplatz 16), a building from the early twentieth century, does not seem too remarkable. But before 1971 three large granite slabs (measuring together *c*. 178 × 109 cm) had been fixed to the wall in the entry hall, originally placed in the first floor of the original medieval house between two pillars – not facing the street facade of the building but accessible and legible only to the inhabitants or visitors of the building. The stones bear an inscription in gothic minuscule fixing the date of the erection of the house in a highly extraordinary manner:

*· Das · paw · / hat · lassen · machen · der · / · edel / · herr · herr · wilhalm · / von · puechaim · obrister · druksacz / Jn ostereich · vnd · hawbtman · czw / zwetel · zu · den · zeiten · als · kaiser · Frid/reich · vnd · herczog · Albrecht · sein · bru/der · wider · anander sind · gebesen · / vnd · er · hatz · gehalten · mit · dem / kayser · vnd · hat gekrügt · wider · des · / herczogen · von · der · kirchen · ob · / zwetel · die · ist · dieselb · zeit · gewe/sen · ain tabor · Anno · dom(in)i · / m°·cccc°·lxiiii° · Jare · +*

This building was made by the noble lord, lord Wilhelm von Puchheim, truchsess in Austria and captain of Zwettl at the time when Emperor Frederick and Duke Albert, his brother, stood against each other and he [i. e. Wilhelm] remained loyal to the Emperor and fought against the Duke from [his stronghold at] the church above Zwettl which was a fortress then, anno domini in the year 1464.

The text is not only much longer than most of the comparable inscriptions but ties the date of the erection to a historical footnote of a time of political disorder and warfare between changing parties supporting either the emperor or his brother.[40] In 1464 Wilhelm had every reason to stress his obedience to Frederick: Duke Albert had died the year before rather unexpectedly, and Wilhelm

[40] On the parish church of Zwettl, turned into a stronghold by Wilhelm in 1462, see R. ZEHETMAYER, "Die Geschichte der Burg und die Baugeschichte der Propstei Zwettl nach schriftlichen Quellen", *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, N.S. 69-71 (2003-2005), pp. 283-307, esp. p. 294-295.

finally stood on the side of the winner. Despite this fact the text is addressed only to a restricted public, presumably (noble) guests of the Puchheim family who were temporarily lodging in the house. In order to make them understand the message the language used for the lines was German.

Instead of struggling for the reader's attention against the monuments of an epigraphically ubiquitous ruler, many burghers sought to occupy and inscribe more exclusive (or secluded) places with their written memory, even if sometimes imitation of the model provided by their lord is manifest in tiny details. The diplomatic monogram of Emperor Frederick III, as displayed on an inscription tablet of 1481 from a portal (*Friedrichstor*) of the castle in Linz,[41] must have given an anonymous Upper Austrian sculptor the idea for his quite sophisticated monogrammatic signature on an epitaph carved in 1507 for a burgher of Enns[42] (Figs. 5a and b).

In the second half of the fifteenth century, members of the patrician elite in larger Austrian towns began to establish exclusive circles which were to meet for regular get-togethers at a fixed place. These lounges sometimes had monumental lists of their members painted on the walls, normally containing their names and heraldic achievements or mottos and devices, as shown in the example of two lounges in Krems from 1472 and in Eferding from 1528 (Fig. 6).[43] Quite significantly, we sometimes find the names of regional nobles alongside those of the burghers, which is a good indicator for the permeability of the urban elite. Competition between the two groups was an element of everyday life as well as of their strategies of symbolic representation.

[41] See *Inschriften – sprechende Denkmäler der Geschichte*, pp. 42-43.

[42] The large red marble epitaph for Christoph Offerl and his wife Anna in the parish church of Enns-Lorch bears the inscription: "*Hie ist dy begrebnuss des erbern Cristoff offerl Anna / seiner hausfr<u>aw</u> all seiner kinder vnd nachkumen den got / vnd allen gelaubigen selln genad Er ist gestorben amb / sambstag vor sand Simonstag im 1498 Jar A · H.*" ("Here is the sepulture of the honourable Christoph Offerl, his wife Anna and of all their children and heirs on whom and on all faithful souls God may have mercy. He died on Saturday before St. Simon's day in the year 1498. A. H."). The date of the execution of the stone (1507) is given in the upper part of the slab with a half-relief of the Last judgment.

[43] R. FORSTER, "Ein Inschriftenfund der frühen Neuzeit im Haus Schlossergasse 4 in Eferding", in: *Denkmalpflege in Oberösterreich mit Jahresbericht* 2001 (Linz, 2002: *Jahresheft des Vereins Denkmalpflege in Oberösterreich*), pp. 19-23.

**Fig. 6** Krems an der Donau (Lower Austria), Althangasse 2/Margarethenstraße 5, first floor: Mottos and devices of members of a *Stubengesellschaft* – an exclusive circle of burghers and noblemen (last quarter of the fifteenth century). Photo: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Arbeitsgruppe Inschriften (Michael Malina).

## *'Politics' in Epigraphic Texts*

Putting forward inscriptions as documents of urban identity or as elements of civic self-consciousness in competition with the potentially omnipresent lord of the town was obviously difficult.[44] Even one of the most important themes of urban iconography is lacking in Austrian medieval inscriptions: epigraphic support of the most prominent of civic iconographic topoi – the depiction or allegoric representation of Iustitia / Justice as the key symbol for good munici-

[44] Cf. Chr. BEHRER, "Platz und Obrigkeit im mittelalterlichen München", in: *Stadtgestalt und Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 147-160; G. BÖNNEN, "Stadt und Öffentlichkeit am Beispiel mittelrheinischer Bischofsstädte im späten Mittelalter", *ibid*., pp. 177-190.

pal governance (*gutes regiment*), regularly seen in city halls and their (wall) paintings – does not go back beyond the sixteenth century.[45]

One rare example of a problematic political incident that was reflected in an epigraphic text is to be presented here: in Vienna's parish church, the later cathedral of St. Stephen's, we find a remarkable funerary monument dedicated to the memory of three Viennese burghers who were sentenced to death and decapitated in 1408 for being engaged in the political struggle between Leopold IV and Ernest, dukes of Austria.[46] The two brothers had disagreed over the tutelage of their cousin Albert V (the future King Albert II), and each of them tried to gain the support of different groups within Viennese society: Leopold tried to bring the middle-class burghers with greater influence on the council onto his side, while Ernest sought an alliance with the urban elites. When the armies of the two factions met close to Vienna at the start of 1408, Ernest had five Viennese artisans arrested for planning a conspiracy against him. Within a matter of days they were executed. The ceasefire that followed between the brothers changed the political constellation quickly, and by July duke Leopold had the mayor of the city, Konrad Vorlauf, and six other wealthy burghers arrested and accused of high treason. Vorlauf and two other men, Konrad Ramperstorffer and Hans Rock, were executed a few days later without having been tried, and their corpses were buried outside the church. Only in 1430 was a tomb slab, or rather a memorial monument, of red marble placed in the central nave of the choir with brass inlays bearing an inscription and featuring the three men's coats of arms. The text of the stone is composed in sophisticated Latin hexametric verses, which were undoubtedly not understandable to everybody. This fact probably permitted the author to recall the bloody events of 1408 quite openly and to celebrate the three dead as icons of civic virtues:

*Sta · fle · plang[e ·] geme · mo[rtalis · homo · lege · disce]*
*Qvid · labor · atq(ue) · fides [· q]vi[d · mvndi · gloria · qvid · spes]*
*Prolis · divicie · qvid · hono[r · prosit · tribvatq(ue)]*
*Ecce · brevi · saxo · tres · cives · cerne · sepvltos*
*Conradv(m) · vorlavf · kvnsz · ramp(e)lstorff · et · hans · rokk*

[45] Cf. the papers of a congress held in Vienna from 12-14 October 2011: *Rathäuser als multifunktionale Räume der Repräsentation, der Parteiungen und des Geheimnisses*, ed. S.C. PILS, M. SCHEUTZ, C. SONNLECHNER, and S. SPEVAK (Innsbruck, Vienna, and Bolzano, 2012: *Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte* 55).

[46] See R. KOHN, "Konrad Vorlauf und sein Grabmal: Ein wiederentdecktes Symbol des städtischen Selbstbewusstseins", *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 59 (2004), pp. 298-312.

*Magnificos · eteni(m) · cvnctis · hac · vrbe · prior[e]s*
*Officiis · celebres · qvos · [virtvs · nomen · honoris]*
*Emeritos · vexit · fortvn[e · sed · rota · fallax]*
*Acephalos · fvria · dedit · [vna · qvos · amor vnvs]*
*[Federe · civili · co(n)ivnxit · si]c · qvod · vtrumq(ve)*
*[Hic · prior · ille · prior · con]tendvnt · flectere · colla*
*[Svstvlit · infavstvm · vo]rlauf · ibi · tunc · p(ri)oratvm*
*[anno · d(omi)ni · m · cccc · octavo · an phincztag · post · margareth(e)]*

Stand still, mortal man, cry, lament and grieve, read and know, what labours and fidelity, what the glory of this world, faith, children, richness, and honour lead up to. See buried here under this small stone three burghers: Konrad Vorlauf, Konrad Ramperstorffer and Hans Rock, noble and higher in rank than anyone else in this city, praised for their services, whom virtue, a good name and honours promoted as they deserved it; but the treacherous wheel [of Fortune] infuriated and made them lose their heads all at once, as one sentiment of love tied them together in the band of citizens, so that each of them struggled to be the first to bow his neck; the unhappy priority was to Vorlauf then, in the year 1408 on Thursday after St. Margaret's.

While historical notes like those transmitted by the preceding inscription were better off not being presented too ostensibly, the 'official' documentation of the municipal governance was not normally suspected of political deviance. The list of the *Genannten* (a board of municipal officers) of the council of Vienna of 1475 ("*hie yn stent geschriben dye // gnanten der stat*") was painted together with older statutes for different urban trades and professions on wooden tablets forming a triptych.[47] The outsides of the closed tablets show the coats of arms of the dukedom of Austria and the city of Vienna arranged in two pairs (above the two escutcheons of "*Altösterreich*" and "*Neuösterreich*", underneath the two escutcheons of Vienna – sable a double-headed eagle or and gules a cross argent) as an eye-catcher. Unfortunately we have no reliable information about the original location[48] and use of the object – probably it was to serve as a quick reference guide to key themes of municipal laws accessible

[47] WienMuseum, Inv.-Nr. 504; see G. BLASCHITZ, "Schrift auf Objekten", in: *Die Verschriftlichung der Welt: Bild, Text und Zahl in der Kultur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. H. WENZEL *et al*. (Vienna and Milan, 2000: *Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums* 5), pp. 145-179, esp. pp. 175-176 (Fig. 24).

[48] A comparable list of members of the *Kleiner Rat* ("small council") of Nuremberg from 1424-1425 is assumed to have been presented in the *Ratsstube*, the meeting room of the council; see MERSIOWSKY, "Wege zur Öffentlichkeit", p. 24.

to other people than those who could look up the required information in the respective books in the library of the council.

## *Indulgence Inscriptions and Didactic Texts in Sacred Buildings*

A completely different type of epigraphic texts had every reason to address the broadest conceivable public. Indulgence inscriptions were products of transmedial advertising, transferring the diplomatic evidence of an important phenomenon of late medieval religious culture to the very places of veneration where penitent visitors were granted indulgences. Publicity had been the keyword for the letters of indulgence granted from the first half of the fourteenth century onwards: obviously some clever members of the Roman curia started to have the large-scale parchments of indulgences painted with colourful initials as eye-catchers to attract more attention from the onlooking visitors to the churches in which the charters seem to have been shown on occasion or to have been affixed to the walls on permanent display.[49] Apart from the presentation of the diplomatic material itself there was another strategy – also starting in the fourteenth century – of signalising which indulgences could be won in the respective churches and how: wooden tablets mostly covered with parchment were painted with some scene connected to the content of the text, which was often a tax list of all the indulgences that could be gathered at the church. Two good fifteenth-century examples for such small indulgence diptychs or triptychs have survived among the treasures of the Viennese house of the Teutonic Order (1466 and 1513).[50] Written in a skilled bastarda hand, the text lists not only the indulgences granted to the Viennese church but – perhaps to make the list even more impressive – all documents issued in favour of the whole order before 1375. Epigraphic advertisements for indulgences in a more strict sense of the word often restricted themselves to stating the circumstances and the total sums of the indulgences. A three-line-inscription of 1463 carved incau-

[49] See (with a select bibliography) M. ROLAND and A. ZAJIC, "Les chartes médiévales enluminées dans les pays d'Europe centrale", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 169 (2011), pp. 151-253; ID., "Illuminierte Urkunden des Mittelalters in Mitteleuropa", *Archiv für Diplomatik* 59 (2013), pp. 241-432.

[50] See B. DUDÍK, "Über Ablasstafeln", *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (zu Wien)* 58 (1868), pp. 155-180 and [W. KRONES], *Die Schatzkammer des Deutschen Ordens: Führung durch die Ausstellungsräume des Museums: Sammlungs-Inventar* (Vienna, [2000]) pp. 100-101 (Inv.-Nr. B 202f.).

tiously with an almost indistinctive gothic minuscule in a red marble slab next to the west portal of the former parish church of St. Sigmond's in Bruck an der Mur in Styria tries to impress the visitor by the vast sum of more than 50,000 (!) days of indulgence that could be gained in the church[51] – obviously the text was referring to some older collective indulgences from Avignon. Actually the issuers of such collective indulgence letters – between two and 31 (!) curial bishops mostly residing at the Holy See in Avignon – were not capable of granting more than the standard 40 days of indulgence even if they acted together, but they deliberately used an ambivalent diplomatic formula that led to the interpretation that the recipient could add the indulgences of each single issuing bishop together, which would give an overall amount of up to 1200 days of indulgence.[52]

Yet there were more sophisticated forms of indulgence inscriptions when one could link the inscription more or less directly to the object of veneration granted through the indulgence. In Vienna for example, the goldsmith master Frederick and his wife Agnes had a new stone relief of Christ on the mount of Olives carried out on the outside of the new charnel house (St. Magdalene's chapel) in the cemetery of St. Stephen's cathedral (at that time only a parish church). In 1343 the couple managed to get an illuminated Avignonese collective indulgence letter which promised 40 days of remission to every penitent man speaking prayers before the sculpture ("*ymago sancti salvatoris iuxta novum karnarium in cimiterio sancti stephani in Vienna*") or praying for the souls of the deceased who were buried in the cemetery.[53] In 1474 the charnel house chapel was provided with a new indulgence. On that occasion the relief

[51] "*Item su(m)ma des antlas pey dem / [g]egenburtigen gotzhaus pringt / [f]untczigtausent tag vnd ach/thundert tag xx tag Jm lxiii*"; see ROLAND and ZAJIC, "Les chartes médiévales enluminées", p. 162, n. 50; ID., "Illuminierte Urkunden", p. 305, n. 54.

[52] The inscription of a stained glass fragment identified rather recently at All Saints Church, North Street, York, dating from the fifteenth century, seems to have promised to the visitor some years ("... *annorum*") of remission if praying and reciting five Ave Marias and five Paternosters; see R.N. SWANSON, "Fragments of an indulgence inscription in a window at All Saints, North Street, York", *The Antiquaries Journal* 88 (2008), pp. 308-312; cf. also the online journal *Vidimus* 27 (March 2009), at http://www.vidimus.org/issues/issue-27/news (October 2011).

[53] 1343 January 22, Avignon; Vienna, Erzbischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanarchiv (diocesan archive), see www.monasterium.net. On St. Stephen's as a burial place, cf. most recently the succinct overview (based on a number of own older articles) by R. KOHN, "Der Stephansdom als Begräbnisstätte", in: *Der Stephansdom: Orientierung und Symbolik*, ed. K. DOMANY and J. HISCH (Vienna, 2010), pp. 247-269, on the cemetery pp. 247-250.

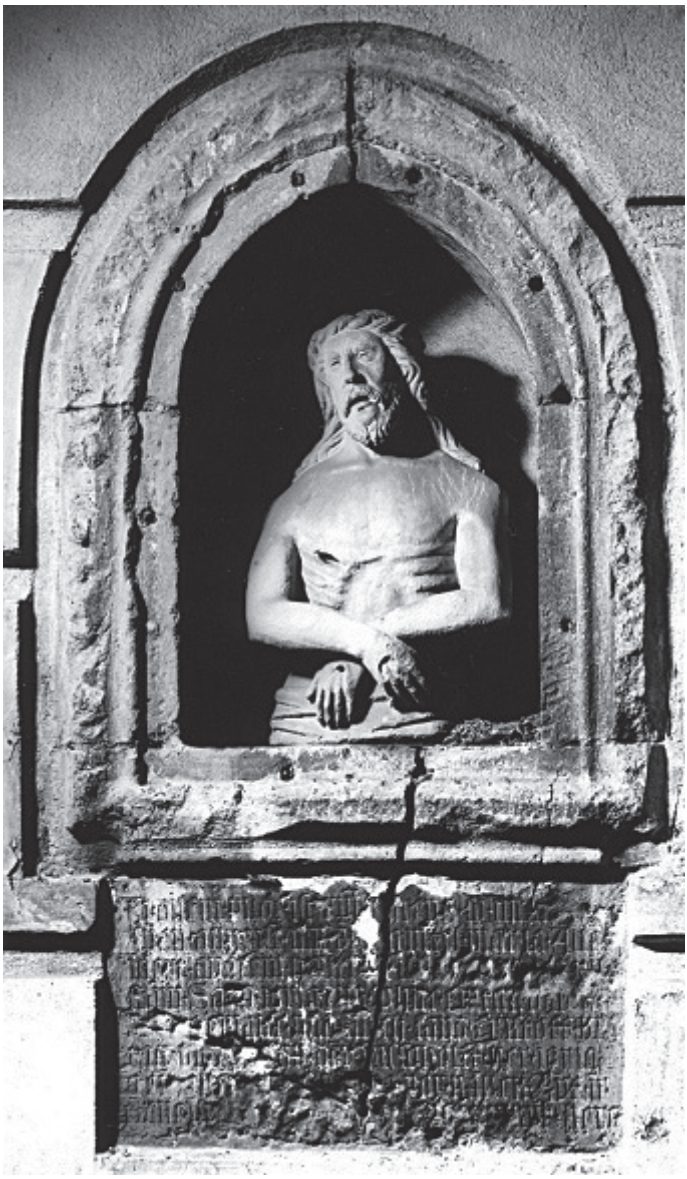

**Fig. 7** Langenlois (Lower Austria), parish church St. Nicholas, outer south side: sculpture of a Man of Sorrows offering the visitor an indulgence of 40 days (1415). Photo: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Arbeitsgruppe Inschriften (Michael Malina).

was inscribed with a German text underneath the sculpture, paraphrasing excessively the text of the original indulgence from 1343:

> Wer hie vor diesem bild spricht drey Paternoster und drey Ave Maria v(er)iehendt, der hat von 15 Bischofen, von jeglichen 40 Tag Ablaßes, und den Ablaß hat bestättigt der würdig Herr Bischof Gottfried von Passau. Die Summe des Ablaßes ist 600 Tag; wer auch für die Seel der Leichnam in diesem Freythof bestätt sind, und umb alle glaubige Seel, und umb die, die es gefrümbt habent Bitt, und Fürderung thuet zu dem Bildt mit Licht, oder mit Gezierde, der hat den ehegenanndten Ablaß.[54]

> Whoever speaks three *Paternoster* and three *Ave Maria* before this sculpture receives indulgence from 15 bishops, 40 days from each of them, and the indulgence is confirmed by the venerable lord Bishop Gottfried of Passau. The sum of the indulgence is 600 days; he who prays for the souls of the corpses buried in this graveyard and for all faithful souls and for those who commissioned it [i.e. the relief], or augments the sculpture with light or ornaments is granted the aforesaid indulgence.

Finally we can even provide an example of a stone sculpture equipped with an indulgence and bearing an explanatory inscription about this fact. The half figure of a Man of Sorrows on the outside of the parish church of Langenlois in Lower Austria, from 1415, is accompanied by a German epigraphic catalogue of those relics that were hidden in a small repository in the back of the statue (Fig. 7). Devoted prayer before the sculpture in the cemetery surrounding the church was rewarded by the bishop of Passau with an indulgence of 40 days. In 1498, when a new altar in the church was consecrated, the bishop of Passau and his auxiliary bishop also renewed the ancient indulgence for the Man of Sorrows.[55]

Regular epigraphic gothic minuscule was used for an outstanding selection of versified texts painted onto the presbytery walls of the church of the Bürger-

[54] The text is copied in MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. nov. 12.781 (*Epitaphia Viennensia. Ex autographo Trautsoniano, cum Supplemento. Prout communicavit Reverendissimus ac Perillustris Dom: Franciscus de Smitmer, Metropol: Ecclesiae ad S: Stephanum Canonicus Capitularis, et Comendator Or: Equitim S: Joannis Hierosol:, Anno 1785*), p. 107; on this inscription see the forthcoming edition by R. KOHN, *Die Inschriften der Dom- und Metropolitankirche St. Stephan zu Wien*, 1, *(bis 1520)* (Vienna: *Die Deutschen Inschriften*).

[55] See Langenlois, Stadtarchiv, Urkk. 92 (1415 December 8, Vienna) and 148 (1498 September 23), and cf. A. ZAJIC, *Die Inschriften des Politischen Bezirks Krems* (Vienna, 2008: *Die Deutschen Inschriften* 72, *Wiener Reihe* 3.3), No. 42.

spital (hospital for the old and poor burghers) in Weitra in Lower Austria, a small town owned by the Austrian dukes but regularly transferred to local nobles as a pledge. The hospital was founded in 1340-1341 by the judge of the town, Konrad Marchart, and his wife Margret. Among a dense and rich ensemble of wall paintings dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we must highlight a couple of texts in the presbytery which can only be interpreted as proof of the unexpected erudition of the parson of Weitra, Johannes, or of the holder of the benefice celebrating the services of the hospital: apart from an older fragmentary catalogue of relics executed in gothic majuscule which belonged to the original main altar (*c.* 1341), the walls display younger quotations from Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae* and Alain of Lille's *Anticlaudianus* in gothic minuscule in the bottom section, while the verses in the upper section of the walls are transporting mariologic contents in elaborate metric forms containing acrostics and echostics (*c.* 1470-1480). It is hard to imagine that this sample of learned texts, which reveals the unusual intellectual horizon of a clergyman in a small provincial town, should have been devised to continue the more conventional pictorial lessons in theology offered to the lay audience by the older wall paintings in the nave of the church.[56] Even the tiny dimensions of the presbytery – with the priest standing in front of the altar the small room is already half full – seem to indicate that these inscriptions were only addressed to the parson who probably commissioned them and to his successors or the holders of the benefice.

## *Epigraphic Texts and Letter Forms as Elements of Humanistic Erudition*

By the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the epigraphic relics of Roman history within the borders of Austria had drawn widespread attention. Humanists in northern Europe had started to collect antique inscriptions found in their environs by the mid-fifteenth century, producing manuscript sylloges of regionally limited sources. The single most important milestone for the innovation of

[56] See W. KATZENSCHLAGER, "Zur Baugeschichte des Bürgerspitals in Weitra", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 27 (1973), pp. 169-176 (with edition of the inscriptions in the presbitery) and ID., "Die Bürgerspitalkirche in Weitra: Zur Geschichte von Stiftung und Kirche", *Das Waldviertel* 23 (1974), pp. 168-172; E. LANC, *Die mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien in Wien und Niederösterreich: Mit Beiträgen von I. Hammer und E.-M. Höhle* (Vienna, 1983: *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien Österreichs* 1), pp. 368-373 and Figs. 674-679.

the whole genre in Central Europe was undoubtedly the publication of Augsburg's Roman inscriptions, collected and edited by Roman Peutinger and printed in 1505 by Erhard Ratdolt in Augsburg.[57] Henceforth humanists turned to their passion for epigraphic evidence as the most reliable way to reconstruct ancient history, or rather to turn their image of Antiquity into a paradigm of erudition. Antiquarianism and the value attributed to inscribed artifacts became ever more popular with larger parts of noble and urban elites within only a couple of years. Spoils of Roman epigraphic monuments recently discovered were no longer ignored but carefully preserved and newly arranged as an obvious proof of the humanistic education and elaborate taste of the owner. The literature on the phenomenon is quite rich,[58] but it is rather focused on the large urban centres of humanism in Southern Germany and it leaves Austria outside of its geographical scope.

It is an instructive fact that as early as 1515 the *Pfleger* (bailiff) of the small Carinthian town of Gmünd im Lavanttal, which belonged to the archbishop of Salzburg, deliberately reused a Roman funerary monument for his own commemorative inscription. Even though we have reason to doubt if this Rudolf Weinzieher was capable of interpreting the abbreviated original inscription correctly, he recognised the stone as an ancient and therefore prestigious object, and used it as a tomb slab for his three children in the floor of the parish church of the town. In doing so, he left the original capital inscription which is

[57] Cf. Ch.S. WOOD, "Early archaeology and the book trade: The case of Peutinger's *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* (1505)", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28.1 (1998), pp. 83-118. and ID., *Forgery – Replica – Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago and London, 2008); I am currently preparing a book on the epigraphic output of Renaissance humanism in Vienna around 1500: *Epigramm und Epitaph: Celtis, Cuspinian und der Humanismus am Hof Maximilians I*. (Vienna, 2014: *Singularia Vindobonensia*).

[58] See the select bibliography in A. ZAJIC, "Gedruckte (Grab-)Inschriftensammlungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts – ein Vergleich", in: *Epigraphica & Sepulcralia*, 1, *Sborník příspěvků ze zasedání k problematice sepulkrálních památek, pořádaných Ústavem dějin umění AV ČR v letech 2000 až 2004*, ed. D. PRIX and J. ROHÁČEK (Prague, 2005), pp. 235-284 and ID., "Invention"; important contributions since then are A. ESCH, *Wiederverwendung von Antike im Mittelalter: Die Sicht des Archäologen und die Sicht des Historikers* (Berlin and New York, 2005: *Hans-Lietzmann-Vorlesungen* 7); most recently P. GEARY, "Fragments of words – Fragments of bodies", in: *Fragmente: Der Umgang mit lückenhafter Quellenüberlieferung in der Mittelalterforschung: Akten des internationalen Symposiums des Zentrums Mittelalterforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 19.-21. März 2009*. ed. Chr. GASTGEBER *et al*. (Vienna, 2010: *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften* 415), pp. 13-20, esp. pp. 16-17 (on the Carolingian reuse of Roman artifacts); L. CLEMENS, "Die Instrumentalisierung antiker Überreste als Beweismittel während des Mittelalters nördlich der Alpen", *ibid*., pp. 239-244.

arranged in parallel lines untouched, and had a circumscription in gothic minuscule carved into the framework. The syntactic construction of the text seems to indicate the precious character of the ancient stone, which supported the *memoria* of the new owner merely by being visibly reused in a new context:

> *[disen · st]ain hat Ruedolf · Weinzieher · der · Zeit · Phleger · zu · Gmund · daher · legen · lassen · zu · Gedachtnu(s) · seine(n) · kind(ern) · jaco[b · sofi]a margreth · d[en got gena]dig · sey · Anno d(omini) 1 · 5 · 1[5].*[59]
>
> This stone was placed here by Rudolf Weinzieher, bailiff in Gmünd, to the memory of his children Jacob, Sofia and Margret, on whom God may have mercy, anno domini 1515.

Peutinger's epigraphic collection of 1505 became a humanistic role model on a more technical level, too. In the preface of the book Peutinger's printer Ratdolt declared that he had had new letters cast in an antique style. The new disciples of Roman epigraphy in Germany, who of course started their own preparatory work by reading and using Peutinger's edition, accepted Ratdolt's capital letters not as a new and syncretised creation but as a perfect imitation of Roman letter design. Very soon ambitious Austrian humanists such as the famous Johannes Cuspinian came across Peutinger and Ratdolt's edition when they were looking for suitable model alphabets for the shape of their own capital inscriptions. Whether they really mistook Ratdolt's script for antique or just trusted in Peutinger's taste as an appraised authority in the field, these humanists agreed on Ratdolt's capitals as an authentic and canonical antique-looking Roman alphabet.

The reception of the role model was quite quick: only five years after the first edition of Peutinger's publication in Augsburg, Cuspinian designed three inscription tablets for his house in the city of Vienna.[60] All three are of good quality and are obviously meant to display antique capital style. Yet one of them reveals its close relations to Ratdolt's alphabet: it is the strange small ending 'S' on the upper line, which replaces the usual medieval abbreviation

[59] See F.W. LEITNER, *Die Inschriften der Politischen Bezirke Spittal a.d. Drau und Hermagor* (Vienna and Munich, 1982: *Die Deutschen Inschriften* 21, *Wiener Reihe* 2), No. 172 (Fig. 86); the stone is today on exhibition in the town museum of Gmünd.

[60] See my forthcoming book: *Epigramm und Epitaph*.

**Fig. 8** Vienna, WienMuseum (originally Singerstraße 10): inscription tablet from the house of the Viennese humanist Johannes Cuspinian, using Roman capitals of the Ratdolt-type (1510). Photo: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Arbeitsgruppe Inschriften.

for 'US' with the form of the numeral 9 (Fig. 8). This very special feature appears to be without any parallels in contemporary inscriptions and can only be explained as a specific quotation from Ratdolt and Peutinger's book.

The functional duality of scripts mentioned in connection with the inscriptions in Krems reminds one of the comparable phenomenon of bilinguality in late medieval inscriptions. A combination of both principles is featured by a red marble tablet bearing an inscription about a flood of the Danube in Linz in 1501 (Fig. 9).[61] The stone seems to reflect some ambition of the city fathers to compete, by the same means, with a slightly older epigraphic monument meant to keep alive the memory of the emperor's death in Linz in 1493. In the choir of the parish church of Linz a large red marble slab fixed to the wall tells the reader about the death of Frederick III, who died in the city and whose intestines were buried in the church. The first four lines of the inscription are in Latin hexametric verses, diligently carved in antiquising though rather slimly proportioned Roman capitals whose forms are the result of an – at least for

[61] See my forthcoming book: *Epigramm und Epitaph*.

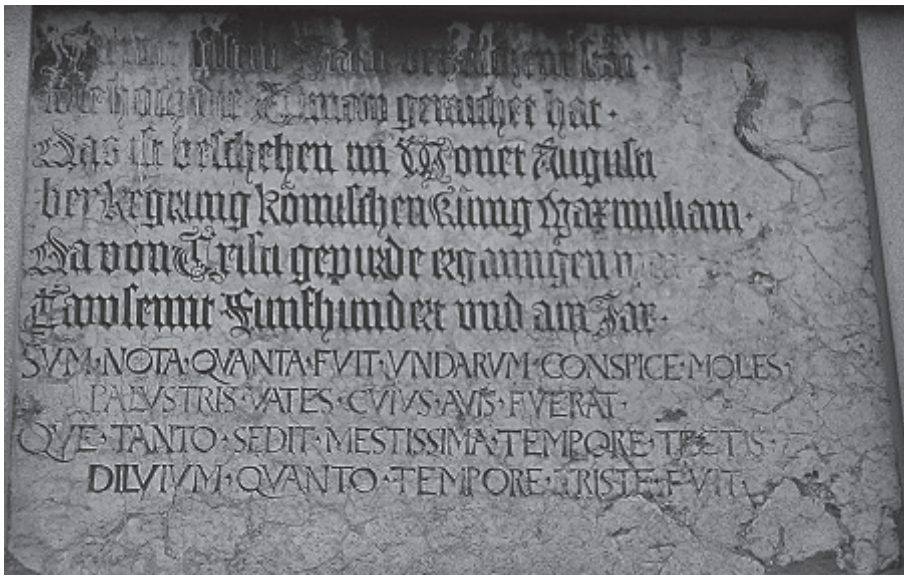


**Fig. 9** Linz (Upper Austria), Obere Donaulände 7-9: inscription tablet commemorating the high flood of the Danube in 1501. Photo: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Arbeitsgruppe Inschriften (Roland Forster).

Austria – early attempt to imitate classical epigraphic writing. The script as well as the sophisticated text express the humanistic attitude of the monument, which was undoubtedly commissioned by Frederick's son Maximilian. The epigram used as the main inscription was composed by the famous humanist Konrad Celtis, who had been asked to do so by one of Frederick's influential clerks. The inscription was meant to serve as a poetic recommendation for the author, who was about to relocate from Ingolstadt to the University of Vienna. Only a few years later, in February 1501, Celtis had his play *Ludus Diane* performed in the castle of Linz before King Maximilian and relatives of his wife Bianca Maria Sforza. Among the audience, mainly dominated by the nobles at court, there must have been some members of the council of Linz who obviously perceived Celtis on that occasion as some kind of official court poet – a position the humanist eagerly tried to claim but never obtained. Only a few months after this theatrical event the flooding of the Danube caused massive damage, which gave the city government reason to design a public monument to remember the catastrophe. The recollection of the winter play

directed by Celtis would still have been vivid then, so the responsible authorities possibly decided to ask the author of Frederick's Linz epitaph to deliver another epigrammatic inscription, now for a stone slab dedicated to the flood of 1501: the elaborate Latin text in two elegiac distichs in the lower half of the monument at least features Celtis's poetic style. Even the same sculptor who had managed to produce the acceptable early Renaissance capital inscription of the 1493 stone was hired once again to carry out the text in the appropriate style, which he had also shown in an altar donor's inscription of 1508 in an Upper Austrian monastery. While the inscriptions mentioned before with their supreme literary quality were addressed to philological connoisseurs, the council of Linz wanted at the same time to meet the language skills of the average city dweller. So they had the Latin lines preceded by a simple German version completely lacking the elegance and inventiveness of the Latin verses, which refer to the water bird depicted in the upper right corner. According to the Latin text the bird, foreseeing the incident, had retired to the highest rooftops of the city and had remained there until the water had gone. The German text simply gives information about the highest water level in a mediocre mixture of prose and verse.

*Hiemit disem Stain beczaichent stat · /*
*wie hoch die Tunaw geraichet hat · /*
*Das ist beschehen im Monet Augusti · /*
*bey Regirung Romischen Kunig Maximiliani · /*
*Da von Cristi gepurde erganngen war · /*
*Tawsennt Funfhundert vnd ain Jar · /*

*SVM · NOTA · QVANTA · FVIT · VNDARVM · CONSPICE · MOLES · /*
*PALVSTRIS · VATES · CVIVS · AVIS · FVERAT · /*
*QVE · TANTO · SEDIT · MESTISSIMA · TEMPORE · TECTIS · /*
*DILVIVM* [sic!] *· QVANTO · TEMPORE · TRISTE · FVIT ·*

This stone marks the line, up to which the Danube had risen. This happened in the month of August under the reign of the Roman king Maximilian, when 1501 years had passed since the birth of Christ. [Latin:] I am a mark, behold, how great the amount of waters was, whose prophet had been a bird of the swamp who was sitting very sad on top of the roofs for just as long as the deplorable high flood lasted.

## *Natural Disasters and Urban Memory*

Unusual high tides were always a threat to urban communities – or at least to the integrity of public and private buildings.[62] The official epigraphic memory of the Danube flood in Linz is preceded by an interestingly similar inscription referring to a flood of the Danube in Stein an der Donau in 1448: in this case the catastrophe was not reflected in an inscription commissioned by the city fathers, but by the local Minorite convent. A red marble slab fixed to the outer west facade of the church states (with excessive abbreviations) that

> *Anno · d(omi)ni · m° cccc xliiii / (com)p(ar)atu(m) · e(st) · h(oc) · op(us) p(er) fr(atr)em pe/tr(um) · de auso · t(un)c · t(em)p(or)is · gardianu(m) · h(uius) / loci · an(no) · 1448 · In die · S(an)cte · Emerencia(n)e / Virg(in)is · fuit · Invnda(cio) · aqvarvm*[63]
>
> In the year of the Lord 1444 was this structure completed by Brother Peter of Auso, then guardian of this monastery. In the year 1448 on St. Emerantia's day was a high flood.

The text links the memory of the completion of the new building of the convent as a rather specific date with that of the flood as a catastrophe which affected the whole population of the city to reinforce the mnemonic effect. The shortness of the historical note is not without parallels in contemporaneous historiography, which also reveals a strong inclination to 'lapidary' style.[64] Normally such inscriptions refer only to local catastrophes. A painted inscription in the

[62] Cf. Ch. ROHR, "The Danube floods and their human response and perception (14th to 17th C)", in: *Diversity in the Global Reconstruction and Representation of Weather and Climate: East, South, West, North: Selected Papers from the ICHM Symposium at the International Congress of History of Science, Beijing, China, July 2005*, ed. L.K. MCNALLY III and Ch. ROHR, *History of Meteorology* 2 (2005), pp. 71-86 (the text is online at http://www.meteohistory.org/ 2005historyofmeteorology2/06rohr.pdf (October 2011)) and ID., *Extreme Naturereignisse im Ostalpenraum: Naturerfahrung im Spätmittelalter und am Beginn der Neuzeit* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2007: *Umwelthistorische Forschungen* 4). Most recently G. MRAS, "Der Mensch und die Naturgewalten im Spiegel der Inschriften", in: *Festschrift für Walter Aspernig zum 70. Geburtstag* (Wels and Linz 2012: *Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereines – Gesellschaft für Landeskunde* 157 (2012) = *Jahrbuch des Musealvereines Wels* 36 (2009-2011)), pp. 243-265.

[63] See A. ZAJIC, *Die Inschriften der Statutarstadt Krems an der Donau* (forthcoming).

[64] Cf. the examples drawn on by WEIGL, "Die unauffälligen Städte", p. 123 (referring to the plague epidemics of 1349 and their abbreviated reflection in urban chronicles of that time).

so-called Pöglhof church in Bruck an der Mur in Styria, however, follows the model of manuscript chronicles and offers on the one hand important dates of universal history, and on the other hand a combination of remarks on local and supraregional incidents:

> *[An]no 1490 / obiit Mathias Rex vnga/rie qvi varia bella d[o]mib(us) avstrie / Stirie · (et) c(eter)a · intvlit et notabiliorem parte(m) austrie / Sibi svbiugavit · Eode(m) an(n)o · D(ominus) Maxi(milianus) Ro(manorum) Rex p(re)fa/tas terras manu forti ungaris ademit et eis bellu(m) movit / victoriamque tenuit*
> *Anno · d(omini) 1510 · die sexta / mensis octobris in opido brugk / quinqvaginta due domus ignis incendio con/sumpte su(n)t · Anno · d(omini) 1511 de mense aprilis fueru(n)t / terremot(us) magni plura opita et castella in italia subvertentes.*[65]
>
> In the year 1490 died Matthias King of Hungary, who brought a number of wars to the houses of Austria and Styria and conquered the greater part of Austria. In the same year Lord Maximilian, Roman king, took the aforesaid lands with mighty hand back from the Hungarians and brought war to them and kept the victory.
> In the year of the Lord 1510 on 6 October 52 houses in the town of Bruck were completely destroyed by fire. In the year of the Lord 1511 in the month of April there were heavy earthquakes ruining many towns and castles in Italy.

## *Conclusions*

My *tour d'horizon* of different genres of epigraphic writing in late medieval Austrian towns seems to mirror the outlines of urban settlements in premodern Austria generally: a great part of the inscriptions in urban space was not commissioned by the town dwellers but by their lords. In this respect the epigraphic sources presented here rather add more to the seigniorial representation of local nobles than to the expression of civic self-consciousness. 'Political' themes (especially topics of contemporary history) seem to have been taboo with only a few exceptions, especially when the incidents that should be reflected on were connected to (unsuccessful) urban revolts in the past. 'Private' rooms as spaces of restricted public access used for the get-togethers of

[65] See E. Lanc, *Die mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien in der Steiermark*, 2 vols. [vol. 1: text; vol. 2: illustrations] (Vienna, 2002: *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien Österreichs* 2.1-2), 1, pp. 33-34 and 36, and 2, Figs. 34 and 37.

civic lounges were sometimes painted with the coats of arms of the members and their (heraldic) mottos.

The struggle for visibility of the inscriptions frequently moved into churches, where funerary inscriptions tended to visualise strategies of social distinction or segregation beyond the implication of remembering the deceased. Inside the churches and on their outside many other types of inscriptions could be placed: indulgence inscriptions advertised the treasury of grace kept and offered by the Church; theological contents were taught to clergymen or laymen.

The choice of languages and individual scripts could be a means of distinction in epigraphic writing: Latin versified texts and antiquising Roman capitals were the epigraphic manifestation of a developing paradigm of humanistic erudition around 1510.

In the end the epigraphic sources of late medieval Austrian towns – as remarkable as many of them are – offer perfect evidence for a strange fact already stressed by many scholars: the Austrian towns and their inhabitants remain hardly discernible beyond the limits of documents relative to the municipal government and jurisdiction, which offer glimpses into everyday life in the towns. Maybe our expectations of the epigraphic sources are too high if we wish to make thrilling discoveries. Admittedly, as other written records, they state normalities instead of sensations, and sometimes dull routine instead of excitement. But even this disappointing conclusion seems to match one central feature of urban societies and their strategies of social integration: not to make individuals stand out from the crowd but to have them fit into the frame.

# Whither the Study of Medieval Urban Literacy?

MARCO MOSTERT and ANNA ADAMSKA

In this volume and its companion volume, *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*,[1] we aimed to present the main uses of the written word in large and small towns, in the wide area of late medieval *Latinitas*. Clearly, the whole spectrum of literate practices could not be discussed here. The choices made, however, were meant to reveal at least some of the mechanisms of the phenomenon of 'medieval urban literacy'. In a general sense the forms of literate behaviour found in medieval towns were doubtless conditioned by the 'urban' way of life, by its complexity of social organisation and in particular by the nature of 'urban' occupations. That the prevalence of trade and craftsmanship gradually detached the life of communities of town dwellers and individuals from the rhythms of nature, that town life changed attitudes towards time and space, and that it stimulated the development of rational, abstract thinking, is a venerable idea which seems to be confirmed by ongoing research.[2] It is clear that the development of uses of writing in town did not

[1] *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy I*, ed. M. MOSTERT and A. ADAMSKA (Turnhout, 2014: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 27).

[2] J. LE GOFF, "Au Moyen Âge: Temps de l'Église et temps du marchand", *Annales ESC* 15 (1960), pp. 417-433 remains an inspiration after more than half a century.

*Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco MOSTERT and Anna ADAMSKA, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 427-431.

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depend much on the settlements' size: very small urban settlements showed the same behaviour, usually also in the same registers of literacy, as the large ones. The towns' often multi-ethnic and multilingual character, together with their relatively high frequency of social contacts, predestined them as places of cultural exchange.[3] Although it is still too early for a synthesis, the broad, comparative perspective adopted in our project, allows us nevertheless to indicate some general characteristics of urban literacy. They will doubtless be adjusted by further research; we thought it might be worthwhile even so to provide an outline of what we have observed so far.

One could argue that one of the main features of medieval urban literate behaviour was the coexistence of different forms and registers of literacy. We hope that the two volumes will have made clear that only a part of the making, using, keeping, and control of written records was institutionalised by the proto-bureaucratic structures of the urban chancery. A person might participate (actively or passively) in the 'civic' administrative literacy controlled by the municipal government as a member of urban community. That same person could enter the domain of sacral literacy, taking part in collective devotional practices framed by the structures of parish and confraternity. He or she created an area of personalised active literacy when putting into writing accounts and records of the familial past to be remembered, corresponding by letters. and ruminating prayers from one's own prayer book. And all this might involve switching between two or more languages and alphabets.

It is evident that only a small percentage of urban dwellers showed all these forms of literate behaviour. Establishing the limits of access to the individual forms and registers of urban literacy is one of the main tasks for further research. Nevertheless, already at the present stage of research we may assume that in the urban communities participation of lay people in literacy was higher than in non-urban environments, among men as among women.[4] This resulted

[3] This role of late medieval and early modern urban settlements was recently emphasised in a model publication: *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, 2, *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400-1700*, ed. D. CALABI and S. TURK CHRISTENSEN (Cambridge, 2006).

[4] A serious problem emerges when one tries to give estimates of urban alphabetisation. Scholars offer highly optimistic numbers for literate town dwellers, usually based on nothing more than educated guesswork; these numbers are often taken to be precise statements of fact without criticism (see, e.g. I. LARSSON, "Producing, using, and keeping records in medieval Swedish towns", in: *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, pp. 13-30, at pp. 28-29, and S. THRUPP, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London (1300-1500)*, 2nd edn. (Ann Arbor, 1962), p. 158).

from the character of the urban professions (involving women to a relatively high extent) and also from the accessibility of different forms of schooling.

A fascinating mark of urban literacy is the predominance of practical uses of writing. Ways of managing knowledge and of organising the written word that are typical of pragmatic literacy left a distinctive mark on the attitudes of town dwellers towards other kinds of written texts.[5] Probably the same practical orientation caused a preference for literate behaviour using the vernacular languages, which in its turn reinforced the emergence of educational opportunities in vernacular. From this resulted the growth of active literate behaviour – even if it was not always direct, but far more often delegated – which found an expression in the large-scale production, use and preservation of written records. It also had a calculable dimension: the production of parchment and paper, the production of books and the book trade, could form a not negligible part of the urban economy.

Yet another feature of urban literacy is the availability of professionals and semi-professionals of the written word. The town clerks only met part of the urban needs for writing – even if it was an important part of these needs. They could also be met in part by members of the urban clergy, advanced pupils of the local schools or, in towns that hosted an university, by students – or simply by the better educated town dwellers. The availability of these *intermediari grafici*, to use the expression of Armando Petrucci,[6] made the presence of the written word common, and accessible to almost everyone. At the same time, the development of a corporative identity of the urban professionals of writing can be detected. This identity was certainly modelled on the guild system, but it went much further than the self-esteem of craftsmen: public notaries together with *notarii civitatis*, *Stadtschreiber*, common clerks, or scriveners, often had intellectual ambitions. More importantly, in their communities they were persons of public trust, and they were aware of this position.

*****

[5] Further reflection on this mark of urban literacy should include the opinion of an eminent expert on the subject of medieval literacy, Michael Clanchy, who argued that "The growth of literacy for practical purposes ... was not necessarily an inevitable process. ... The contemporary assumption that literacy is primarily utilitarian in purpose and character is a product of recent history and not an invariable norm" (M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1308*, 3rd edn. (Oxford and Malden, MA, 2013), pp. 333-334.

[6] A. Petrucci, *Prima Lezione di Paleografia* (Rome and Bari, 2002), pp. 25-26.

The need for further study of all these characteristics of medieval urban literacy, necessarily from a comparative perspective, is obvious. To find out what was 'urban' about 'urban literacy', one also needs to compare medieval literate behaviour in towns with that in the non-urban areas of medieval Europe.

There is evidence about the uses of writing in the countryside. At first sight this may seem accidental only, as it comes from widely distant times and places, but it is interesting nevertheless. It suggests that in many different parts of *Latinitas* the vicinity of even the smallest of towns and market places induced the use of the written word by communities of peasants. The professionals and semi-professionals of writing to whom we have paid so much attention as representatives of urban literacy, were the real ambassadors of pragmatic literacy in the European countryside.[7] The observations on literate practices in the countryside which can be found in the scholarly literature about many regions (and which, alas, have been published in many, sometimes lesser-known languages), merit systematic research.

There is also another reason to enlarge the study of urban literacy by the study of literate behaviour and attitudes to the written word in the countryside. The traditional view that in pre-modern times "two cultures developed side by side: an urban culture that was essentially literate, and rural culture essentially illiterate",[8] can no longer be supported. Since Carlo Cipolla voiced this opinion in 1969, the criteria for judging 'literacy' and 'illiteracy' have been refined by decades of research on literacy and communication, and also by abandoning the old convictions about the homogeneous, static, and conservative character of the peasantry. Considerable input from historical anthropology and cultural

[7] A. BARTOSZEWICZ, "Urban literacy in small Polish towns and the process of 'modernisation' of society in the later Middle Ages", in: *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, pp. 149-182, at pp. 175-178; Ch. WEBER, "Trust, secrecy, and control in the medieval Italian communes", *ibid.*, pp. 243-265, at p. 252; G. VAN SYNGHEL, "The use of records in medieval towns: The case of 's-Hertogenbosch (Brabant)", *ibid.*, pp. 31-47, at p. 37. See also A. NEDKVITNE, *The Social Consequences of Literacy in Medieval Scandinavia* (Turnhout, 2004: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 11), p. 198; F.K. WRAY, "Women, testaments, and notarial culture in Bologna's *contado* (1348)", in: *Across the Religious Divide: Women, Property, and Law in the Wider Mediterranean (ca. 1300-1800)*, ed. J.G. SPERLING and F.K. WRAY (New York and London, 2010), p. 82; J. CHIFFOLEAU, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age (vers 1320-vers 1480)* (Rome, 1980), pp. 81-82; O. REDON, "Le notaire au village: Enquête en pays siennois dans la deuxième moitié du XIII^e siècle et au début du XIV^e siècle", in: *Campagnes médiévales: L'homme et son espace: Études offertes à Robert Fossier*, ed. E. MORNET (Paris, 1995), pp. 667-680.

[8] C.M. CIPOLLA, *Literacy and Development in the West* (Harmondsworth, 1969), p. 55.

history has begun to reveal a new image of peasant communities as complex structures with their own internal dynamics.[9] This means that the development of new research questionnaires to interrogate the well-known sources is required. One should also take into account that the subject to be investigated can no longer be restricted to the 'literacy' of peasants in the narrow sense of the word. If it is true that 'urban' uses of the written word were determined mainly by the nature of the urban settlements, the same might be assumed for social groups living in the countryside. It would be justified to take into consideration the literate behaviour of all these groups, and not just that of the peasants. Members of the small nobility and rural priests may show a similar 'rural' attitude towards the written word, resulting from a way of life that cut across social boundaries.[10] This modernised research on 'countryside literacy', will also throw new light onto 'urban' uses of the written word. For now, however, this new subject of research is as yet only a glimpse in the eye of the historian of social communication.

[9] There is a rich bibliography. See, e.g. E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris, 1975); C. Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi: Il cosmo di un mugnaio del'500* (Torino, 1976); D. Balestracci, *The Renaissance in the Fields: Family Memoirs of a Fifteenth-Century Tuscan Peasant*, trans. P. Squatriti and B. Meredith (University Park, PA, 1999); Ch. Wickham, "Gossip and resistance among the medieval peasantry", *Past and Present* 160 (1998), pp. 3-24.

[10] We took this approach to the problem when preparing a preliminary survey of the features of rural literacy in the pre-modern West: A. Adamska and M. Mostert, "The literacies of medieval towndwellers and peasants: A peliminary investigation", in: *Świat Średniowiecza: Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi*, ed. A. Bartoszewicz *et al.* (Warsaw, 2010), pp 317-330. See also: *Clergy, Noblemen, and Peasants: Oral and Literate Communication in the Medieval Countryside*, ed. M. Mostert and A. Adamska, in preparation for *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*.

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